



HEROES

OF THE



NINETEENTH  
CENTURY



GLADSTONE



HAVELOCK



BISMARCK



LINCOLN

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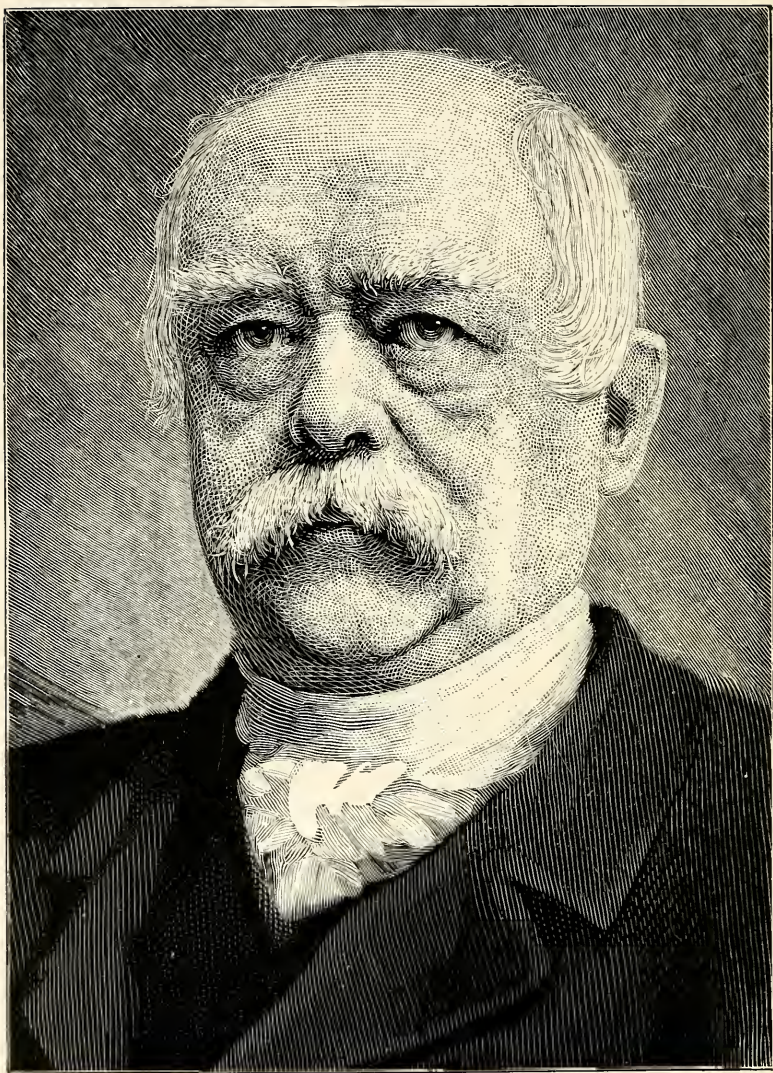
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HEROES  
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NINETEENTH CENTURY





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PRINCE BISMARCK.

[Frontispiece.]

HEROES  
OF THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY

GLADSTONE—HAVELOCK—BISMARCK  
LINCOLN

BY  
G. BARNETT SMITH

*Author of*

*"The History of the English Parliament," "Poets and Novelists,"*

*"Life of Queen Victoria," &c. &c.*

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**HEROES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.**

NELSON—NAPIER—ROBERTS—

LIVINGSTONE.

**HEROES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.**

WELLINGTON—GARIBALDI—GRANT—

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WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE



## CHAPTER I

### *FROM YOUTH TO MANHOOD*

COMMANDING powers, and a long life of strenuous labour in the public service, well entitle William Ewart Gladstone to a place in the Valhalla of British heroes. There are contests in the senate as well as upon the battle-field, and for two generations there was no political warrior so much in the public eye as he was. So long as his dominant figure led the Liberal hosts to battle it seemed almost inconceivable to picture England without its Gladstone.

Some men born in the purple seem destined from the outset to a political career ; but in the case of neither of the two great antagonists—Gladstone and Disraeli—could it have been predicted that they would rise to the influence and dignity of the most powerful position in the realm. The father of young Gladstone was a diligent merchant of Liverpool, the descendant of a good Scotch family, whose ramifications could be traced through a couple of centuries. Sir John Gladstone—who had no issue by his first

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marriage—married as his second wife Ann Robertson, daughter of Mr. Andrew Robertson, of Stornoway, and sometime Provost of Dingwall. Husband and wife were alike possessed of a strong individuality, and they seem to have bequeathed some of their marked characteristics to their fourth son, who was born at Liverpool on the 29th of December, 1809. The future statesman was brought up under the shadow of Canning, who was the personal friend of his father, and it was not surprising, therefore, that from his earliest youth he should have been surrounded and impressed by Conservative influences.

Young Gladstone had for his first tutor the Rev. William Rawson, Vicar of Seaforth, a man of solid acquirements and sterling uprightness of character. Under him he made rapid progress, acquiring much information, and a certain quickness of perception and independence of judgment which never left him. Physically, he had an exceptional amount of vital energy, and this enabled him to pursue his studies with uninterrupted regularity and success. He entered Eton in 1821, and had to take his share under that deplorable system of fagging which prevailed. But whatever the faults of Eton, many of the finest men of the past four centuries have been trained there. The man destined to succeed will find his aids to rise everywhere, and will always lift himself above his environment, however depressing. There were not many inducements to excel in scholarship in Gladstone's time, but he gathered intellectual sustenance wherever he could, and was a

## Gladstone

voluminous contributor to the *Eton Miscellany*, which also numbered amongst its contributors George A. Selwyn, Francis Hastings Doyle, and Arthur Henry Hallam.

Leaving Eton in 1827, Gladstone became for a time the private pupil of Dr. Turner, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta. Then in 1829 he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, where he was made a student on the foundation. Two years later he went up for his examination, and completed his academical career by attaining the highest honours of the University, graduating double first-class. With regard to honours in the schools, he achieved a success which falls to the lot of but few students, although he had no prizes of the highest description.

While Liberalising tendencies were apparent in Gladstone's nature before he reached his twenty-first year, there is little doubt that these were retarded in their development by his training at Oxford. Had he been sent to Cambridge the opposite result might have been experienced; but, of course, Oxford was his natural nursing mother in learning, seeing that it was largely swayed by those Conservative views which were strongly held by the student's family. So, we find that in the debates of the Oxford Union Gladstone generally took the Conservative side, and he was found amongst the opponents of Parliamentary Reform, which was then the all-absorbing topic of the day. Speaking generally, Oxford afforded every advantage for the cultivation of taste and miscellaneous information, though many students of

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sixty or seventy years ago regretted that amongst all its teachers there was no public professor of modern languages. The Union Debating Society did a great and useful work in encouraging a taste for study and general reading. It was claimed for it that it not only supplied a school for speaking for those who intended to pursue the professions of the Law and the Church, or to embrace political life, but by furnishing a theatre for the display of miscellaneous knowledge, and by bringing together most of the distinguished young men in the University, it had a great effect upon the general tone of society.

The opponents of Oxford culture affirmed that its tendency was towards intolerance and bigotry, both in religion and politics; but its supporters contended that it roused a spirit of devoted loyalty, of warm attachment to the liberties and ancient institutions of the country, a dislike and dread of rash innovation, and an admiration approaching to reverence for the orthodox and apostolic English Church. These latter ideas Gladstone imbibed, throwing in his lot for the time with the Tories and the High Churchmen. It took him a generation before he regarded Church questions from a broad, comprehensive, and fundamental point of view. It is worthy of remark that Mr. Gladstone's first ministry included no fewer than seven of the early presidents of the Oxford Union, namely, Mr. Gladstone himself, Lord Selborne, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Cardwell, the Attorney-General, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen. In 1830 Gladstone was elected a member of the



## Gladstone

committee of the Union, in the following year secretary, and shortly afterwards president. His minutes were neat, proper names being underlined and half printed. He was greatly excited when he carried by one vote—57 to 56—a motion that the Wellington Administration was deserving of the confidence of the country.

Nearly fifty years after he left the University, Gladstone described the general effect of his Oxford training. In opening the Palmerston Club at Oxford, at the close of 1878, he said, "I trace in the education of Oxford of my own time one great defect. Perhaps it was my own fault; but I must admit that I did not learn, when at Oxford, that which I have learned since, namely, to set a due value on the imperishable and inestimable principles of human liberty. The temper which, I think, too much prevailed in academic circles was, that liberty was regarded with jealousy, and fear could not be wholly dispensed with." The speaker added—and his words have been much quoted since—"I think that the principle of the Conservative party is jealousy of liberty and of the people, only qualified by fear; but I think the policy of the Liberal party is trust in the people, only qualified by prudence. I can only assure you, gentlemen, that now I am in front of extended popular privileges, I have no fear of those enlargements of the Constitution that seem to be approaching. On the contrary, I hail them with desire. I am not in the least degree conscious that I have less reverence for antiquity, for the beautiful, and good, and glorious charges

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that our ancestors have handed down to us as a patrimony to our race, than I had in other days when I held other political opinions. I have learnt to set the true value upon human liberty, and in whatever I have changed, there, and there only, has been the explanation of the change." That is, a closer study of the people, with their needs and aspirations, dispelled those fears and forebodings which were chiefly the result of academic prejudice.

When he had finished his University course, Mr. Gladstone spent some time in Continental travel, which is always an education in itself to an observant mind. During the year 1832—when England was raging with the Reform fever—he spent nearly the whole of the months from January to July in Italy. Six years later he again visited the south, and from August, 1838, to January, 1839, he was engaged in exploring Sicily. He kept a diary of his tour, which serves to show how vividly his imagination was impressed by the sublime scenes which he witnessed. He and some others of his party made an ascent of Etna at the commencement of the eruption of 1838. It was on the 30th of October that they began the ascent from Catania, and after witnessing a magnificent sunrise, they were favoured with a grand display of volcanic action which proved to be an unusually extensive eruption. The showers of lava were most copious; large masses of 150 to 200 lbs. weight were thrown to a distance of a mile and a half; smaller ones to a distance still more remote. Mr. Gladstone was struck by the closeness of the

## Gladstone

descriptions in Virgil with the actual reality of the lurid eruption witnessed by himself.

In July, 1839, Mr. Gladstone married Miss Catherine Glynne, daughter of Sir Stephen Richard Glynne, of Hawarden Castle, a lady distinguished for her many benevolent and social qualities. Their union was blessed by eight children—four sons and four daughters. The eldest son, William Henry, who was for some time in the House of Commons, died in 1891; the second, the Rev. Stephen Edward Gladstone, is Rector of Hawarden; the third, Henry Neville, is engaged in commerce; and the fourth, Herbert John Gladstone, is the popular Liberal whip, and one of the members for Leeds. The eldest daughter, Anne, is married to the Rev. E. C. Wickham; the second, Miss Catherine Jessie, died in 1850; the third, Mary, married the Rev. H. W. Drew; and the fourth, Miss Helen Gladstone, was for some time Vice-Principal of Newnham College. There was ever a close union of affection and sentiment between the members of the Gladstone family; and the illustrious head of it himself bore testimony to the fact that his venerable wife, who survived him, was ever the interested sharer of his triumphs, and his consoler in defeats.

## CHAPTER II

### *IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ARENA*

AT the general election which followed the passing of the Reform Act of 1832, Mr. Gladstone was a candidate for Newark. He had received an invitation to stand for the borough from that influential Conservative peer, the Duke of Newcastle, father of the young candidate's intimate friend, the Earl of Lincoln. The Duke was the author of that singular political maxim, "Have I not a right to do what I like with my own?"

Mr. Gladstone's first election address was issued on the 9th of October, 1832. The Opposition candidates were Mr. W. F. Handley and Mr. Serjeant Wilde. The young Tory candidate soon made himself popular with the electors. In appearance at this time he was somewhat robust. There were none of those deep lines in his face which rendered his face so noticeable in his maturer years. One who remembered him well at this period described his bright, thoughtful look, and attractive bearing; he was considered a handsome man, and possessed a

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most intelligent and expressive countenance. The Liberal candidates rather underrated his chances, and expressed themselves confident of the result. Their disappointment was consequently all the more severe when he came in at the head of the poll, the numbers being—Gladstone, 882; Handley, 793; Wilde, 719. One person at least foresaw the great promise of the young Tory member, for when he addressed a meeting at Nottingham a few days after the election, he remarked, "He will one day be classed amongst the most able statesmen in the British Senate."

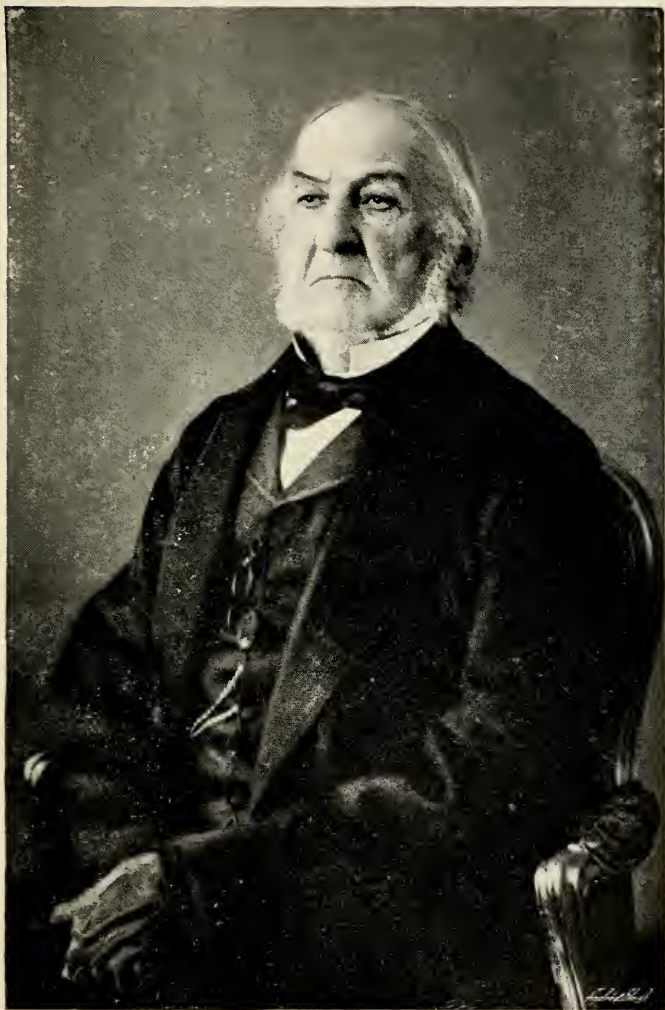
In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone made his mark at once, unlike his great rival Disraeli. He was fluent, earnest, and self-possessed. His maiden speech was delivered in connection with the Negro Slavery Emancipation Bill, in the course of which he defended the management of an estate in Demerara owned by his father. On the general question, he was not hostile to emancipation, but thought immediate enfranchisement would be unwise in the interests of the negroes themselves. However, the slave trade was a great blot upon England's fame, and happily it was abolished throughout the British colonies, at a cost of twenty millions sterling. Mr. Gladstone spoke on a great variety of subjects during the sessions of 1833 and 1834; and so rapidly had he made his mark as a debater, that when Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister in December of the latter year, he made the promising young Tory recruit a Junior Lord of the Treasury.

Soon after the meeting of Parliament in February,

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1835, he was promoted to the office of Under-Secretary for the Colonies ; and the first Bill which he produced in the House of Commons was one for the better regulation of the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels to the Continent and the islands of North America. It was well received ; but soon afterwards the Peel Ministry was defeated on a motion by Lord John Russell for dealing with the temporalities of the Irish Church. Peel and his colleagues accordingly went out of office. The member for Newark had already made himself highly respected by men of all parties, who bore testimony to his business habits, his integrity, and high moral character. In 1839 and 1840 he delivered noteworthy speeches, from the Conservative point of view, on National Education and Jewish Disabilities.

When Sir James Graham brought forward a motion in 1840 condemning the war with China, Mr. Gladstone supported it, and in replying to the historian, Macaulay, he delivered himself of his first great utterance of genuine power and eloquence. "The right hon. gentleman spoke last night," he said, "of the British flag waving in glory at Canton, and of the animating effects produced on the minds of our sailors by the knowledge that in no country under heaven was it permitted to be insulted. But how comes it to pass that the sight of that flag always raises the spirit of Englishmen? It is because it has always been associated with the cause of justice, with opposition to oppression, with respect for national rights, with honourable commercial



MR. GLADSTONE.

*(From a Photograph by S. A. Walker.)*

*[To face page 12.]*





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enterprise ; but now, under the auspices of the noble lord (Palmerston), that flag is hoisted to protect an infamous contraband traffic, and if it were never to be hoisted except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight with horror, and should never again feel our hearts thrill, as they now thrill, with emotion, when it floats proudly and magnificently on the breeze."

The Melbourne Government was rapidly becoming effete, and in May, 1841, Peel carried a vote of want of confidence against Ministers by one vote out of 623—one of the fullest Houses ever known. Ministers appealed to the country, and were badly worsted. When the new session opened there was a majority against them of 91. So Government went out of office, and Sir Robert Peel constructed a new Administration, in which Gladstone held the appointments of Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint.

While fighting his early political battles, Mr. Gladstone acquired some distinction as an author. In 1838 he published his defence of the Church Establishment under the title of *The State in its Relations with the Church*. It was an able and comprehensive work, but from some of its positions the author subsequently receded. His main argument was that the Church was necessary to the nation, as the only sanctifying and preserving principle of society, while it was equally necessary to the individual. Macaulay, in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, was Gladstone's foremost critic ; but while he

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attacked his great fundamental proposition—that the propagation of religious truth was one of the great ends of Government *as* Government—he paid a high tribute to the author's talents and character, and predicted for him a great future in the political sphere.

In 1840 Mr. Gladstone published another ecclesiastical work, entitled *Church Principles Considered in their Results*. In this treatise, "written beneath the shades of Hagley," the residence of his lifelong friend and relative, Lord Lyttelton, the author dwelt upon the great moral characteristics of the English Church. He maintained that these characteristics were full of intrinsic value, and were also adapted to the circumstances of the time, and he defined them chiefly as the doctrine of the visibility of the Church, the apostolical succession in the Ministry, the authority of the Church in matters of faith, and the truths symbolized in the Sacraments. He strongly attacked Rationalism, and as warmly contended that England would never again submit to the yoke of Rome. As at a later period he was the prime mover in the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and was therefore condemned as inconsistent, he published, in 1868, *A Chapter of Autobiography*, in which he pointed out that he had never propounded the maxim, *simpliciter*, that we were bound to maintain a Church Establishment under all circumstances. He held that the Irish Church had fallen out of harmony with the spirit and use of the time, and that it must be judged, like all

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establishments of religion, by a practical rather than a theoretical test.

The Free-trade agitation was in full force when Peel acceded to office in 1841, and as the times were critical, the Budget of 1842 was produced under depressing circumstances. There was a deficit of nearly three millions, and taxation upon articles of consumption had been pushed to its utmost limit. Gladstone rendered his chief invaluable service, both in the preparation of his Budget and of his Tariff scheme. The Budget proved a pleasant surprise, for it threw the taxation mostly upon those wealthy people who could bear it, and relieved the terrible pressure upon the manufacturing industry. The second branch of the financial plan, the revised tariff, was mainly the work of Gladstone. To show its extensive ramifications, out of nearly 1200 duty-paying articles, a total abolition, or a considerable reduction, was made in no fewer than 750. This was a great step towards freedom of manufactures. The young statesman's labours at this time were very great : during the session of 1842 alone he spoke 129 times, chiefly on subjects connected with the new fiscal legislation. He demonstrated his capacity for grasping all the most complicated details of finance, and also his power of comprehending the scope and necessities of the commercial interests of the country.

In the session of 1843—after he succeeded the Earl of Ripon as President of the Board of Trade—Mr. Gladstone carried a useful measure for the abolition of restrictions on the exportation of

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machinery ; and in the following session he introduced his Railway Bill—a measure of the first importance. By it the Board of Trade had a conditional power to purchase railways which had not adopted a revised scale of tolls. The Bill also compulsorily provided for one third-class train per day upon every line of railway, regulated the speed of travelling, etc., and arranged for the carrying of children at reduced fares. Though the Bill was opposed at first by the railway companies, it was conceived so distinctly in the interests of the poorer classes, that it ultimately passed into law.

In 1845 Gladstone resigned office in consequence of the Ministerial intentions with regard to Maynooth ; but in the same session he supported a Bill for confirming the possession of religious endowments in the hands of Dissenters, and he also supported the Government scheme for the extension of academical education in Ireland ; so that he had at least left some of his old Tory opinions far behind.

Peel announced his intention, in December, 1845, to abolish the Corn Laws, and when his Ministry was reconstituted for that purpose, Gladstone appeared in it as Secretary for the Colonies. But as he had been elected for Newark as a Protectionist, he now retired from the representation of that borough, and was out of Parliament for a brief period. He had much to do, however, with the framing of the great Corn Law Repeal Act of 1846. At the general election of 1847 he was returned for Oxford

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University, but soon offended some of his constituents by speaking eloquently in favour of the proposal to admit Jews to Parliament. In 1848 there were fears of revolution abroad, and of Chartist riots at home, and when special constables were sworn in for London, among those who came forward were Prince Louis Napoleon, the Earl of Derby, and William Ewart Gladstone.

In home politics Mr. Gladstone's Liberalising tendencies soon began to be apparent. He warmly defended Free Trade, supported the repeal of the Navigation Laws, and advocated a closer union between England and her Colonies. The House of Commons met in its new chamber in 1850, and during that session there was a great debate on the affairs of Greece, arising out of the claims of Don Pacifico, Mr. Finlay, and other British and foreign subjects, who had been refused compensation for ill treatment by the Greek Government. The great giants of debate—Palmerston, Peel, Cockburn, Cobden, Disraeli, and Gladstone—all delivered orations of the highest order, such as are beyond the men of these later days.

Palmerston made a spirited defence of his foreign policy, and averred that as a subject of ancient Rome could hold himself free from indignity by saying *Civis Romanus sum*, so a British subject in a foreign country must be protected by the vigilant eye and the strong arm of the Government against injustice and wrong. Gladstone's reply was trenchant and exhaustive, and produced an immense effect on the House.

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He thoroughly sifted the causes of complaint, and blamed the Foreign Secretary for not trying the Greek tribunals, and employing diplomatic agency, instead of rushing at once to arms. As far as he understood the duty of a Foreign Secretary, it was not to go about challenging all comers and laying as many of his adversaries as possible in the dust, but to conciliate peace with dignity. It was the very first of all his duties studiously to observe, and to exalt in honour among mankind, that great code of principles which was termed the law of nations. He closed his powerful speech with this remarkable peroration :—

“ Sir, I say the policy of the noble lord tends to encourage and confirm in us that which is our besetting fault and weakness, both as a nation and as individuals. Let an Englishman travel where he will as a private person, he is found in general to be upright, high-minded, brave, liberal, and true ; but with all this, foreigners are too often sensible of something that galls them in his presence, and I apprehend it is because he has too great a tendency to self-esteem—too little disposition to regard the feelings, the habits, and the ideas of others. Sir, I find this characteristic too plainly legible in the policy of the noble lord. I doubt not that use will be made of our present debate to work upon this peculiar weakness of the English mind. The people will be told that those who oppose the motion are governed by personal motives, have no regard for public principles, no enlarged ideas of

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national policy. You will take your case before a favourable jury, and you think to gain your verdict ; but, sir, let the House of Commons be warned—let it warn itself—against all illusions. There is in this case also a course of appeal. There is an appeal, such as the honourable and learned member for Sheffield has made, from the one House of Parliament to the other. There is a further appeal from this House of Parliament to the people of England ; but, lastly, there is also an appeal from the people of England to the general sentiment of the civilized world ; and I, for my part, am of opinion that England will stand shorn of a chief part of her glory and pride if she shall be found to have separated herself, through the policy she pursues abroad, from the moral supports which the general and fixed convictions of mankind afford—if the day shall come when she may continue to excite the wonder and the fear of other nations, but in which she shall have no part in their affection and regard.

“No, sir, let it not be so ; let us recognize, and recognize with frankness, the equality of the weak with the strong, the principles of brotherhood among nations, and of their sacred independence. When we are asking for the maintenance of the rights which belong to our fellow-subjects resident in Greece, let us do as we would be done by, and let us pay all the respect to a feeble State, and to the infancy of free institutions, which we should desire and should exact from others towards their maturity and their strength. Let us refrain



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from all gratuitous and arbitrary meddling in the internal concerns of other States, even as we should resent the same interference if it were attempted to be practised towards ourselves. If the noble lord has indeed acted on these principles, let the Government to which he belongs have your verdict in its favour; but if he has departed from them, as I contend, and as I humbly think, and urge upon you that it has been too amply proved, then the House of Commons must not shrink from the performance of its duty, under whatever expectations of momentary obloquy or reproach, because we shall have done what is right; we shall enjoy the peace of our own consciences, and receive, whether a little sooner or a little later, the approval of the public voice for having entered our solemn protest against a system of policy which we believe, nay, which we know to be unfavourable even to the security of British subjects resident abroad, which it professes so much to study—unfavourable to the dignity of the country, which the motion of the honourable and learned member asserts it preserves—and equally unfavourable to that other great and sacred object, which also it suggests to our recollection, the maintenance of peace with the nations of the world.”

This was the greatest speech Gladstone had yet delivered, and it caused Cockburn to say: “I suppose we are now to consider him as the representative of Lord Stanley in this House; Gladstone *vice* Disraeli. Am I to say, resigned or superseded?”

A few days after the Don Pacifico debate, Sir



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Robert Peel died from a sad accident, having been thrown from his horse while riding. The loss was a great one to the nation, but it was a deep personal grief to Gladstone, who paid a brief but touching tribute to his old chief in the House of Commons. In 1851 Mr. Gladstone published his celebrated letters to Lord Aberdeen on the condition of the Neapolitan prisons, and the inhuman treatment of the political prisoners, including Baron Poerio. The Government of Naples was described as "the negation of God." The revelations startled Europe, and proved one of the precipitating causes of the overthrow of the Neapolitan Government. Lord Palmerston reflected the national sentiment of England when he declared in the House of Commons that Mr. Gladstone had done himself honour by the course he had pursued in this matter. He had lifted up his voice with energy and effect on behalf of oppressed humanity, and in condemnation of one of the worst and most despotic Governments which had ever afflicted mankind.

When the Earl of Derby formed a Ministry in 1852, he invited Mr. Gladstone to join it as Chancellor of the Exchequer; but he declined the offer, feeling that he could no longer call himself an undiluted Conservative. Mr. Disraeli then assumed the post, but his first Budget proved a disastrous failure. Mr. Gladstone delivered a searching speech, which gave the death-blow to the financial scheme, and the Government—who were defeated by a majority of 19—went out of office. The Earl of Aberdeen now

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became Prime Minister, with Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer. In this capacity, the born financier at once inaugurated a new and brilliant financial era. Amongst other things, he carried a scheme for the reduction of the National Debt, which worked successfully until the breaking out of the Crimean War. During a very short period the public debt was reduced by no less than £11,500,000. His first Budget—which was also one of his greatest—was brought forward in April, 1853. The Chancellor, in explaining a financial measure which for statesmanlike breadth of conception has never been surpassed, spoke for five hours with the greatest ease and perspicuity. The Budget provided for the gradual reduction of the income-tax, to expire in 1860; the equalization of the spirit duties; the abolition of the soap duties; the introduction of the penny receipt stamp; the reduction of the tax on cabs and hackney coaches; and the equalization of the assessed taxes. Altogether, the duty on 123 articles was abolished, and the duty on 133 others reduced, the total relief amounting to five millions sterling.

Alas! the realization of many of the Chancellor's hopes was shattered by the untoward Crimean War. The mismanagement of this war led to the collapse of the Aberdeen Government. Mr. Gladstone and his Peelite friends accepted office under Lord Palmerston; but as the Premier did not resist Mr. Roebuck's motion for a committee into the Crimean disasters, they again resigned. Mr. Gladstone's

## Gladstone

conduct during this critical period was much criticized, and he subsequently put forward an apology for the course he pursued during the Crimean War. He was blamed for leaving the Ministry, and blamed for recommending a cessation of the war ; but it is still true, as he contended, that "the question which broke up one Cabinet, and formidably rent another, which agitated England, and sorely stained her military reputation in the eyes of Europe, remained then, and remains now, untried by any final court of appeal."

In the session of 1857 Lord Palmerston's Government was defeated on its Chinese policy, arising out of the affair of the lorcha (or cutter) *Arrow*. The vessel had been seized by the Chinese authorities on the charge of piracy. She was undoubtedly of a suspicious character, but she had obtained a British registration, and in consequence Sir John Bowring demanded the surrender of the captured men, which was done, but all apology was refused by Yeh, the Governor of Canton. Thereupon the town was bombarded and taken by the English. Mr. Gladstone was one of the most eloquent opponents of Palmerston on this question. He dwelt upon the calamities which our high-handed policy had inflicted upon the Cantonese, and called upon Parliament to put an end to this state of things, concluding with this stirring peroration :—"Every member of the House of Commons is proudly conscious that he belongs to an assembly which in its collective capacity is the paramount power of the State. But if it is the paramount power of the State, it can never

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separate from that paramount power a similar and paramount responsibility. The vote of the House of Lords will not acquit us; the sentence of the Government will not acquit us. It is with us to determine whether this wrong shall remain unchecked and uncorrected. And at a time when sentiments are so much divided, every man, I trust, will give his vote with the recollection and the consciousness that it may depend upon his single vote whether the miseries, the crimes, the atrocities that I fear are now proceeding in China, are to be discountenanced or not. We have now come to the crisis of the case. England is not yet committed. With you then, with us, with every one of us, it rests to show that this House, which is the first, the most ancient, and the noblest temple of freedom in the world, is also the temple of that everlasting justice without which freedom itself would only be a name or only a curse to mankind. And I cherish the trust and belief that when you, sir, rise to declare in your place to-night the numbers of the division from the chair which you adorn, the words which you speak will go forth from the walls of the House of Commons not only as a message of mercy and peace, but also as a message of British justice and British wisdom, to the farthest corners of the world."

The Government was censured by 263 votes to 247; but Palmerston appealed to the country, and his enemies suffered a severe defeat at the polls. The Premier's triumph was short-lived, however. Early in 1858, owing to Orsini's attempt on the Emperor of

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the French, Palmerston introduced his Conspiracy to Murder Bill. The conviction having become widespread that the measure was introduced solely at the dictation of Napoleon, a hostile amendment was brought forward against the Government, and Mr. Gladstone delivered the most powerful speech in favour of it. Ministers were defeated by 234 votes to 215, and Lord Palmerston resigned. Lord Derby, his successor, in vain offered Mr. Gladstone office, but the latter accepted the non-political post of High Commissioner Extraordinary to the Ionian Islands and went out to Corfu. Not long afterwards the Islands were formally incorporated with Greece.

At this period Mr. Gladstone devoted considerable time to the study of Greek literature and history, and in 1858 he published his *Studies on Homer*, which exhibits wide and laborious research, and remains his *magnum opus* in literature. It was succeeded some years later by *Juventus Mundi* and the *Homeric Synchronism*.

In 1859 the Derby Government was defeated on the Reform question, and Palmerston having become Prime Minister again, Mr. Gladstone resumed his old office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. On going before his Oxford University constituents for re-election, he was opposed by the Marquis of Chandos, but after a stiff contest he beat the Marquis by 1050 to 859 votes. The finance measures of 1860 formed a new and memorable departure in the domestic history of Great Britain. Free-trade principles witnessed a large extension in the French

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Treaty, negotiated by Mr. Cobden, to whom Mr. Gladstone paid a warm tribute in his Budget speech. This speech was an oration in the form of a great State paper made eloquent. A great number of duties were reduced or abolished by it, and amongst other beneficial changes, it was proposed to include the abolition of the paper duty. The Lords rejected this part of the scheme, whereupon the Premier carried a resolution to the effect that the right of granting aids and supplies to the Crown is vested in the Commons alone. In the session of 1861 the Chancellor of the Exchequer continued his legislation for the people, and brought forward his Post Office Savings Bank Bill, which passed into law. By the Budget of this year the paper duties were abolished, Mr. Gladstone circumventing the Lords by including all his chief financial propositions in one Bill. At one time a great constitutional conflict between the two Houses seemed imminent, but this was averted by the timely concessions of the Upper House. Soon after the outbreak of the American Civil War, Mr. Gladstone pained many of his followers who were sympathisers with the North, by a speech at Newcastle, in which he expressed his conviction that Mr. Jefferson Davis had already succeeded in making the Southern States an independent nation. At a later date Mr. Gladstone frankly confessed that he had committed an error of judgment in this matter.

The Budget of 1862 was a stationary one, but that for 1863 again exhibited the mastery of our first

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exponent of finance. Reductions were made in the income tax, the tea duties, etc., the total relief being no less than £4,600,000. The country being at peace, its trade advanced by leaps and bounds, as a natural result of the operation of Free-trade principles. The financial statement for 1864 was equivalent to a declaration of domestic policy on behalf of the Government—a policy of which peace, progress, and retrenchment were the watchwords. Besides a considerable reduction in various duties this year, Mr. Gladstone carried his scheme of Government life insurances, which was conceived in the true interests of the working classes, and proved—as it is still proving—of inestimable service to them. The Budget for 1865 again made great reductions in taxation, the total relief amounting to the large sum of £5,420,000.

At the dissolution in July, 1865, Mr. Gladstone, in consequence of his steady growth in Liberal principles, was opposed at Oxford University by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, the uncompromising defender of the Church and of Conservatism. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had a majority of the resident voters, including nearly all the distinguished heads of colleges, and three-fourths of the tutors and lecturers of the University; and his rejection was entirely due to the non-resident clerical supporters of his opponent. Turned adrift by Oxford, he went down to South Lancashire, and appearing at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, he used the now famous phrase, "At last, my friends, I am come



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among you, and I am come among you unmuzzled." Subsequently, before an immense audience in the Liverpool Amphitheatre, he made some pathetic references to his long connection with Oxford, and said that if he had clung to the representation with desperate fondness, it was because he would not desert a post to which he seemed to have been called. Mr. Gladstone was now returned for his native division, being at the head of the poll in Manchester, Liverpool, and all the large towns.

Lord Palmerston died in the autumn of 1865, and the Ministry was reconstructed, with Earl Russell as Premier, and Mr. Gladstone as Leader of the House of Commons and Chancellor of the Exchequer. In May, 1866, he brought forward what proved to be his last Budget for some years. There was a surplus of £1,338,000, which allowed a further and considerable reduction of taxation. Owing to the alarming nature of the Fenian revival in Ireland, a Bill suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in that country was brought in and passed.

During the same session the Government made an earnest effort to grapple with the Reform question. Mr. Gladstone introduced a Bill which proposed to create an occupation franchise in counties; a suffrage for tenants of houses at £14 rental; a savings bank franchise; a lodger franchise, and other new franchises, together with greater facilities for voters. Altogether the new voters of all classes would number 400,000. Mr. Lowe and other Liberal members—who were described by Mr. Bright as "Adullamites"—joined



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the Tories in opposing the Bill. For eight nights the second reading was discussed with a power and eloquence on both sides which have never been surpassed, and rarely equalled, in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone replied to the taunts of Lowe and Disraeli, and closed one of his greatest efforts with this impassioned peroration :—

“ Sir, we are assailed ; this Bill is in a state of crisis and of peril, and the Government along with it. We stand or fall with it, as has been declared by my noble friend, Lord Russell. We stand with it now ; we may fall with it a short time hence. If we do so fall, we, or others in our places, shall rise with it hereafter. I shall not attempt to measure with precision the forces that are to be arrayed against us in the coming issue. Perhaps the great division of to-night is not the last that must take place in the struggle. At some point of the contest you may possibly succeed. You may drive us from our seats, you may bury the Bill that we have introduced, but we will write upon its gravestone for an epitaph this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment—

*‘ Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.’*

You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move onwards in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you ; they are marshalled on our side ; and the banner which we

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now carry in this fight, though perhaps at some moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of Heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain, and to a not far-distant victory."

Amid intense excitement the division was taken, and it was found that there was a majority of five in favour of the Government in one of the largest Houses on record—the numbers being, without pairs: Ayes, 318; Noes, 313. Further dangers assailing the Bill were likewise overcome; but on the 18th of June the measure was unexpectedly wrecked on a motion by Lord Dunkellin, substituting a ratal instead of a rental basis for the borough franchise. The Government regarded this as a vital point, and, giving up the measure, resigned office. Lord Derby returned to power; but London and the provinces were the scene of great Reform demonstrations in the autumn, and a serious riot occurred in Hyde Park, in consequence of the Government prohibition of the meeting of the Reform League.

The new Tory Administration now found itself compelled in its turn to deal with this vexed question of Reform. In 1867 a Bill was brought forward by Mr. Disraeli, which in the outset was most unacceptable to Reformers; but, chiefly owing to the efforts of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, its scope was greatly widened, and in the end the Conservatives enacted household suffrage pure and simple in the boroughs, although they had strenuously opposed

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a comparatively small measure of Reform the year before.

On the retirement of Lord Derby, early in 1868, Mr. Disraeli succeeded to the Premiership. In the ensuing sessions the adoption by the House of Commons of Mr. Gladstone's Compulsory Church Rates Abolition Bill led to the settlement of a long-agitated question. But a more important question still was looming in the air, that of the Irish Church Establishment. On the 16th of March Mr. Gladstone struck the first blow in the struggle that was to end in its disestablishment. In a debate raised by Mr. Maguire, he made the important declaration that religious equality must be secured in Ireland, however difficult the operation might be. The Irish Church question, he urged, pressed for immediate settlement, and he added :—" If we are prudent men, I hope we shall endeavour, as far as in us lies, to make some provision for a contingent, a doubtful, and probably a dangerous future. If we be chivalrous men, I trust we shall endeavour to wipe away all those stains which the civilized world has for ages seen, or seemed to see, on the shield of England in her treatment of Ireland. If we be compassionate men, I hope we shall now, once for all, listen to the tale of woe which comes from her, and the reality of which, if not its justice, is testified by the continuous migration of her people ; that we shall endeavour to—

' Raze out the written troubles from her brain,  
Pluck from her memory the rooted sorrow.'

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But, above all, if we be just men, we shall go forward in the name of truth and light, bearing this in mind—that, when the case is proved, and the hour is come, justice delayed is justice denied.”

While this speech excited feelings of consternation amongst the Ministerialists, it became the basis of action for the Liberal party, and the country likewise speedily took up the cry for justice. In pursuance of the policy he had foreshadowed, Mr. Gladstone brought in a series of resolutions on the 30th of March, affirming that, in the opinion of the House, the time had come when the Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment; and he moved that an address be presented to Her Majesty, praying her to place at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the temporalities of the Irish Church. On behalf of the Government, Lord Stanley met the resolutions with an amendment to the effect that the question should be reserved for a new Parliament. The speaking on both sides was very able, and there was a sharp passage of arms between Mr. Lowe and Mr. Disraeli. The opposition could claim the superior weight of eloquence.

Mr. Gladstone's speech in introducing the resolutions has always been regarded as one of the greatest of his Parliamentary orations, and we here reproduce its splendid conclusion :—

“There are many who think that to lay hands upon the national Church Establishment of a country is a profane and unhallowed act. I respect that feeling. I sympathize with it. I sympathize with it,

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while I think it my duty to overcome and repress it. But if it be an error, it is an error entitled to respect. There is something in the idea of a national establishment of religion, of a solemn appropriation of a part of the Commonwealth for conferring upon all who are ready to receive it what we know to be an inestimable benefit ; of saving that portion of the inheritance from private selfishness, in order to extract from it, if we can, pure and unmixed advantages of the highest order for the population at large. There is something in this so attractive that it is an image that must always command the homage of the many. It is somewhat like the kingly ghost in *Hamlet*, of which one of the characters of Shakespeare says—

‘We do it wrong, being so majestic,  
To offer it the show of violence ;  
For it is, as the air, invulnerable,  
And our vain blows malicious mockery.’

But, sir, this is to view a religious establishment upon one side only, upon what I may call the ethereal side. It has likewise a side of earth ; and here I cannot do better than quote some lines written by the present Archbishop of Dublin, at a time when his genius was devoted to the muses. He said, in speaking of mankind—

‘We who did our lineage high  
Draw from beyond the starry sky,  
Are yet upon the other side,  
To earth and to its dust allied.’

And so the Church Establishment, regarded in its

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theory and in its aim, is beautiful and attractive. Yet what is it but an appropriation of public property, an appropriation of the fruits of labour and of skill to certain purposes, and unless these purposes are fulfilled, that appropriation cannot be justified. Therefore, sir, I cannot but feel that we must set aside fears which thrust themselves upon the imagination, and act upon the sober dictates of our judgment. I think it has been shown that the cause for action is strong—not for precipitate action, not for action beyond our powers, but for such action as the opportunities of the times and the condition of Parliament, if there be but a ready will, will amply and easily admit of. If I am asked as to my expectations of the issue of this struggle, I begin by frankly avowing that I, for one, would not have entered into it unless I believed that the final hour was about to sound—

*‘ Venit summa dies et ineluctabile fatum.’*

And I hope that the noble lord will forgive me if I say that before Friday last I thought that the thread of the remaining life of the Irish Established Church was short, but that since Friday last, when at half-past four o’clock in the afternoon the noble lord stood at that table, I have regarded it as being shorter still. The issue is not in our hands. What we had and have to do is to consider well and deeply before we take the first step in an engagement such as this ; but having entered into the controversy, there and then to acquit ourselves like men, and to use every effort

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to remove what still remains of the scandals and calamities in the relations which exist between England and Ireland, and to make our best efforts at least to fill up with the cement of human concord the noble fabric of the British Empire."

The resolutions were carried by a majority of 61 votes—331 to 270—a much larger majority than had been anticipated by either political party.

The Queen having signified that she would not suffer her interests to stand in the way of any measures contemplated by Parliament, Mr. Gladstone brought in his Irish Church Suspensory Bill, which was adopted by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords. The question was then remitted to the constituencies, and the general election in the ensuing November was fought out upon this question. There was great excitement in the country, and Mr. Gladstone laughed heartily at some of the political lampoons of his opponents, including "Gladstone's Time-table to Greenwich," "Bright's disease," and "Lowe fever." But the country was in earnest, and a great Liberal majority of 115 was returned, though several important individual defeats were sustained. Mr. Gladstone himself was defeated in South Lancashire, but he was nominated for Greenwich, and returned by a majority of nearly two thousand over his Conservative opponents.

In deference to the feeling of the country, Mr. Disraeli resigned office at once, and Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister. He formed an unusually strong Cabinet, with Mr. Bright at the Board of

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Trade, Mr. Lowe as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Cardwell as Secretary at War, the Duke of Argyll as Indian Secretary, and the Marquis of Hartington—the present Duke of Devonshire—as Postmaster-General.



## CHAPTER III

### *HIS FIRST PREMIERSHIP*

**I**T is not too much to say that the six years forming Mr. Gladstone's first Premiership were, as regards legislation, the most glorious six years in our Parliamentary annals during the whole of the nineteenth century. The magnitude and importance of the measures passed have never been exceeded. This must be admitted by any one, when we remember that during this Golden Age of Liberalism education was provided for the people by means of the Board Schools, that the Army was remodelled and purchase abolished, that the Irish Church and Irish Land Acts were passed, and that the other great measures included the Endowed Schools Act, the Judicature Act, the Habitual Criminals Act, the Bankruptcy Act, the Ballot Act, the University Tests Act, the Trades Union Act, and the Repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act ; while the Washington Treaty was successfully negotiated, and a number of minor measures were carried which alleviated the condition of the lives of the poor.

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Dealing now with some of the important legislative changes, it was on the 1st of March, 1869, that Mr. Gladstone introduced his Irish Church Disestablishment Bill in a crowded House. Three hours were occupied in explaining in detail this comprehensive scheme, which dealt with the monetary affairs of the Church, its spiritual interests, and the best method for its future reorganization. In concluding his remarkable exposition, the orator said :—

“I do not know in what country so great a change, so great a transition, has been proposed for the ministers of a religious communion, who have enjoyed for many ages the preferred position of an Established Church. I can well understand that to many in the Irish Establishment such a change appears to be nothing less than ruin and destruction. From the height on which they now stand the future is to them an abyss, and their fears recall the words used in *King Lear*, when Edgar endeavours to persuade Gloster that he has fallen over the cliffs of Dover, and says—

“Ten masts at each make not the altitude  
Which thou hast perpendicularly fallen ;  
Thy life’s a miracle !”

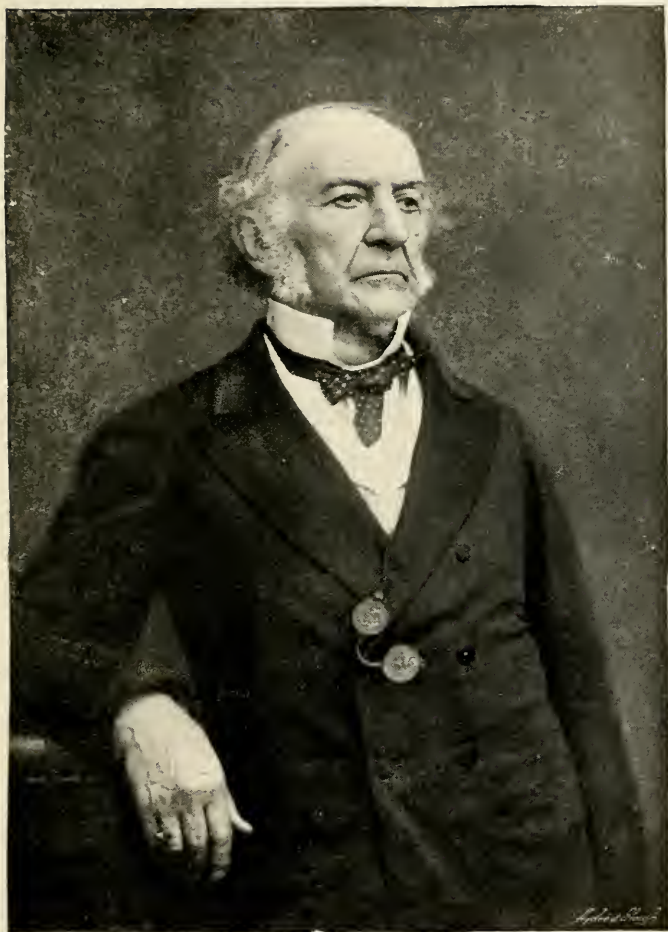
And yet but a little while after the old man is relieved from his delusion, and finds he has not fallen at all. So I trust that when, instead of the fictitious and adventitious aid on which we have too long taught the Irish Establishment to lean, it should come to place its trust in its own resources,

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in its own great mission, in all that it can draw from the energy of its ministers and its members, and the high hopes and promises of the gospel that it teaches, it will find that it has entered upon a new era of existence—an era bright with hope and potent for good. At any rate, I think the day has certainly come when an end is finally to be put to that union, not between the Church and religious association, but between the Establishment and the State, which was commenced under circumstances little auspicious, and has endured to be a source of unhappiness to Ireland and of discredit and scandal to England. There is more to say. This measure is in every sense a great measure, great in its principles, great in the multitude of its dry, technical, but interesting detail, and great as a testing measure ; for it will show for one and all of us of what metal we are made. Upon us all it brings a great responsibility—great and foremost upon those who occupy this bench. We are especially chargeable, nay, deeply guilty, if we have either dishonestly, as some think, or even prematurely or unwisely challenged so gigantic an issue. I know well the punishments that follow rashness in public affairs, and that ought to fall upon those men, those Phaetons of politics, who, with hands unequal to the task, attempt to guide the chariot of the sun. But the responsibility, though heavy, does not exclusively press upon us ; it presses upon every man who has to take part in the discussion and decision upon this Bill. Every man approaches the discussion under the most

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solemn obligations to raise the level of his vision and expand its scope in proportion with the greatness of the matter in hand. The working of our Constitutional Government itself is upon its trial, for I do not believe there ever was a time when the wheels of legislative machinery were set in motion under conditions of peace and order and constitutional regularity to deal with a question greater or more profound. And more especially, sir, is the credit and fame of this great Assembly involved: this Assembly, which has inherited through many ages the accumulated honours of brilliant triumphs, of peaceful but courageous legislation, is now called upon to address itself to a task which would, indeed, have demanded all the best energies of the very best among your fathers and your ancestors. I believe it will prove to be worthy of the task. Should it fail, even the fame of the House of Commons will suffer disparagement; should it succeed, even that fame, I venture to say, will receive no small, no insensible addition. I must not ask gentlemen opposite to concur in this view, emboldened as I am by the kindness they have shown me in listening with patience to a statement which could not have been other than tedious; but I pray them to bear with me for a moment while, for myself and my colleagues, I say we are sanguine of the issue. We believe, and for my part I am deeply convinced, that when the final consummation shall arrive, and when the words are spoken that shall give the force of law to the work embodied in this measure—the work



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

(From a Photograph by S. A. Walker.)

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of peace and justice—those words will be echoed upon every shore where the name of Ireland or the name of Great Britain has been heard, and the answer to them will come back in the approving verdict of civilized mankind.”

The Government were supported by large majorities at all stages of the Bill, but outside a fierce storm of invective raged against its author, the clerical party being especially virulent in its language. On the second reading, Mr. Disraeli moved the rejection of the measure, but his speech was described by *The Times* as “flimsiness relieved with spangles”—the definition of a columbine’s skirt—and he was vigorously answered by Mr. Bright, who rendered valuable assistance all through the debates. Sir Roundell Palmer and Mr. Gathorne Hardy advanced a number of constitutional objections, but they were conclusively answered by the Premier, who also showed that the Bill would in no way touch the Royal Supremacy. The second reading was carried by 368 to 250 votes, and there was an almost equally large majority on the third. In the Lords the measure was widely and angrily debated ; but as the popular will had been so overwhelmingly manifested in its favour, it was allowed to pass ; and the most remarkable legislative achievement of modern times thus became law.

The Irish Land Act was the great feature of the session of 1870. Its author claimed for this measure that, while it ensured for the tenant security of holding, it did not confiscate a single valuable right of

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the Irish landowner. The Bill was founded on the belief that free contract lay at the root of every healthy condition of society. The tenant was secured against oppression on the part of his landlord, and the landlord was secured legally against loss or detriment to his property. The amendments to the Bill were no fewer than three hundred in number, but many of them were frivolous, and none affected the cardinal principles of the measure, and it was carried through both Houses without substantial alterations. In its multiplicity of details and general importance, the Land Act was second only to the Church Act.

It was likewise in the session of 1870 that Mr. Forster introduced the Elementary Education Bill for England and Wales, which provided for the compulsory attendance of all children between five and twelve years of age at the Board Schools within their district. The Bill passed, and its effect has been to give a wonderful impetus to elementary education throughout the kingdom. During the same session other acts of public importance became law ; posts in the Civil Service were thrown open to competition, the Commander-in-Chief was made a subordinate of the Minister of War, while among minor public advantages secured were halfpenny postcards, and the halfpenny postage for newspapers.

Foreign policy and war questions occupied a great part of the session of 1871. In order to cut the Gordian knot of favouritism and other abuses in the Army, Mr. Gladstone adopted the bold policy of



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issuing a Royal Warrant for the Abolition of Purchase, as that end had not been achieved by Mr. Cardwell's Army Regulation Bill, a measure which secured many great and much-needed reforms, but which had been mutilated by the Lords by the excision of the Purchase portion of the scheme. The Premier's resolve to issue a Royal Warrant abolishing Purchase was warmly approved by the country, but censured by the House of Lords, though it was sanctioned by high constitutional authorities like Sir Roundell Palmer.

The Ballot Bill was another important measure which was discussed with considerable asperity this session. The Conservatives obstructed it with every available weapon in their power. Mr. Gladstone declared that it must and should pass the Commons, but the warfare continued for nearly six weeks before the Bill could struggle through. Then, when it went to the Lords, it was rejected by 97 votes to 48. The University Tests Bill, however, became law this session, and by this measure all lay students, of whatever religious creeds, were enabled in future to be admitted to the Universities on equal terms. The threatened rupture between Great Britain and the United States was averted by the conclusion of the Treaty of Washington in the month of May. Mr. Lowe's Budget proposal to tax matches excited a storm of indignation, and he was compelled to abandon it, a fate also which overtook Mr. Bruce's Licensing Bill.

Other signs were not wanting that the popularity

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of the Government had begun to wane, and although Mr. Gladstone spiritedly defended the Government policy generally at Greenwich, people began to complain of a plethora of legislation, instead of a dearth of it, which is generally the case. Considerable obloquy fell upon the Government by reason of an ecclesiastical appointment which came to be spoken of as "The Ewelme Scandal," by the elevation of Sir Robert Collier to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and by other matters.

But the Ministerial legislative activity still continued. The Ballot Bill was re-introduced in the session of 1872, and it led to many protracted debates. The third reading was carried by 276 to 218, and, although the Lords made some alterations, the measure was carried substantially as it had been brought in. The Act effected a complete revolution in the system of voting. The first elections conducted under its provisions were of the most orderly and satisfactory character, and no one now would desire to revert to the old methods. The Alabama claims were finally and satisfactorily adjusted, though not without a powerful protest on some points by our arbitrator, Sir Alexander Cockburn. As a proof that the domestic welfare of the people was not neglected by the Government, a number of minor useful measures were passed this session, including two Acts relating to the Regulation of Mines, the Public Health Act, the Adulteration Act, and the Scotch Education Act.

As the name of Ireland was associated with some

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of the most brilliant legislative triumphs of the Government, so was it destined to be the final cause of their overthrow. Early in the session of 1873 Mr. Gladstone endeavoured to grapple with the Irish University question. He brought forward a comprehensive scheme, by which he proposed to separate Trinity College, Dublin, from the Dublin University, and the Theological Faculty from Trinity College, Dublin. The precedent of England was to be followed in drawing a distinction, not merely theoretical, between the University and the College or Colleges in union with it; and the Theological Faculty was to be handed over to the Representative Body of the disestablished Irish Church, with a fund to be administered in trust to the purposes for which the Faculty had hitherto existed. The newly-constituted Dublin University was to be a teaching as well as an examining body, though, on account of the unduly sensitive state of the Irish mind, neither theology, modern history, nor moral and metaphysical philosophy were to have a recognized place in the curriculum. The Governing Body would contain twenty-eight ordinary members, to be nominated in the first place by Parliament; but it was hoped that in ten years' time the University itself would be in a fit state to take its share in appointing its own governors.

At first the scheme was favourably received, but in a short time it began to be severely criticised both in and out of the House. Just before the division on the second reading, on the 11th of March,

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Mr. Gladstone powerfully pleaded for the measure. "If," he observed, "the labours of 1869 and 1870 are to be forgotten in Ireland, if, where we have earnestly sought and toiled for peace, we find only contention, if our tenders of relief are thrust aside with scorn, let us still remember that there is a voice which is not heard in the crackling of the fire, or in the roaring of the whirlwind or the storm, but which will and must be heard when they have passed away—the still small voice of justice. To mete out justice to Ireland, according to the best view that, with human infirmity, we could form, has been the work—I will almost say the sacred work—of this Parliament. Having put our hand to the plough, let us not turn back. Let not what we think the fault or perverseness of those whom we are attempting to assist have the slightest effect in turning us, even by a hair's-breadth, from the path on which we have entered. As we have begun, so let us persevere, even to the end, and with firm and resolute hand let us efface from the law and the practice of the country the last—for I believe it is the last—of the religious and social grievances of Ireland."

The appeal was fruitless. The Bill was lost, though only by the narrow majority of three votes, the numbers being: for the Bill, 284; against, 287. The Premier was astonished at the result, as he had thought there would be a decided majority for the measure, and he resigned office at once. Mr. Disraeli was sent for by the Queen, but declined to take office; whereupon Mr. Gladstone contended that his refusal

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was contrary to precedent and constitutional usage. The imbroglio was ended by Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues consenting to resume office for a time.

During the ensuing autumn the Government did not regain ground in the country. Not only did several bye-elections go against them, but many powerful interests were hostile to them, the Church and the publicans being especially strong in their condemnation. Convinced that some drastic step must be taken, in January, 1874, Mr. Gladstone issued a lengthy manifesto to the electors of Greenwich, announcing the immediate dissolution of Parliament. In this important document—which was entitled to rank as a State paper from its political and historical importance—the Premier detailed his reasons for taking so decisive a step, the chief of which was that the welfare of the country could never be effectually promoted by a Government that was not invested with adequate authority.

The elections proved disastrous to the Liberal party. Without having any valid reason for it, it was evident that the country desired a change. The members returned were—Conservatives, 349; Liberals, 303. There was thus a Tory majority of 46. Mr. Gladstone immediately tendered his resignation. One of the greatest Administrations of the century had been overthrown. It was not without its faults, but it had an unparalleled record of great legislative measures in its favour.

## CHAPTER IV

### *SIX YEARS OF OPPOSITION*

**M**R. GLADSTONE was greatly needing rest at this time, and in March, 1874, he wrote a letter to Earl Granville, tentatively resigning the leadership of the Liberal party. But he soon appeared in Parliament again, and opposed, with his usual vigour, such measures as the Public Worship Regulation Bill and the Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill. He also delivered many interesting speeches out of Parliament. But in January, 1875, he definitely withdrew from the Liberal leadership, and during his temporary retirement his place was occupied by the Marquis of Hartington.

Not long afterwards he plunged into ecclesiastical controversy, and severely attacked the Romish doctrines in an essay entitled, *What is Ritualism?* Replying to his critics, he published a second pamphlet, showing that the Church of England was well worth preserving. Next, he strongly attacked the claims of the Pope and the Romish Church in a treatise on *The Vatican Decrees*, which

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he discussed in their bearing on civil allegiance. The controversy waxed fast and furious, and drew yet a third pamphlet from Mr. Gladstone, entitled *Vaticanism: an Answer to Replies and Reproofs*. He severely handled the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, and demonstrated generally the hollowness of the Papal pretensions, as well as their dangerous and insidious character.

A striking tribute to Mr. Gladstone's able management of the national finances was paid by Sir Stafford Northcote, in a work entitled *Twenty Years of Financial Policy*, 1842-61. He showed that England could not have borne the strain of the Crimean War if it had not been for the life which Sir Robert Peel first infused, and which Mr. Gladstone afterwards renewed, in our fiscal system, and but for which 1854 might have found us struggling with an overwhelming deficiency, or inextricably entangled in the toils which must attend a reconstruction of the income tax. We may continue Sir Stafford's record by pointing out that in thirteen years during which the Liberals held office, between 1857 and 1878—and when Mr. Gladstone was almost solely responsible for the national finances—they repealed or reduced taxes to the amount of £42,816,329, and laid on taxes to the amount of only £3,050,086, showing a balance in their favour of £39,766,243. The Conservatives, in their nine years of power during the same period, reduced taxation by £6,270,123 only; while they imposed new taxes to the amount of £12,374,050, thus leaving a balance against them



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of £6,103,927. The latter result was chiefly due to the "spirited foreign policy" which Mr. Disraeli introduced soon after acceding to office.

The complications in Eastern Europe began to be acute towards the close of 1875, and this question again brought the Liberal leader into the domain of politics. In speech and written word he was indefatigable in advocating the claims of the oppressed nationalities of the East. He moved the country to its depths by his fiery condemnation of the Bulgarian massacres. A pamphlet which he issued, entitled *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, had a prodigious circulation. The writer called for a cessation of the anarchy, misrule, and bloodshed in Bulgaria; and he demanded that the Ottoman rule should be excluded, not only from Bosnia and the Herzegovina, but also from Bulgaria. "The Turks," he said, "must clear out, 'bag and baggage,' from the province they have desolated and profaned." In a stirring address to his constituents at Blackheath, and also at a great meeting in St. James's Hall, he called for a union of the Powers against Turkey. Two Powers especially stood forth far before the rest in authority, in the means of effectually applying that authority, and in responsibility upon this great question, namely, England and Russia.

The Constantinople Conference, summoned in December, 1876, having closed on the 20th of January, 1877, without result, the Turkish Government having rejected the proposals of the European



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Powers, matters dragged their slow length along for some months longer. At last, on the 24th of April, 1877, Russia declared war, the Czar's manifesto assigning as reasons for the step the refusal of guarantees by the Porte for the proposed reforms, the failure of the Conference, and the rejection of the proposal signed on the previous 31st of March. Proclamations of neutrality were issued by England, France, and Italy, and on the 7th of May Mr. Gladstone initiated a great debate in the House of Commons. He introduced a series of resolutions which, as amended, expressed grave dissatisfaction with the policy of Turkey, and declared that she had forfeited all claim to support, moral and material. The ex-Premier first reviewed the progress of events, and then asked whether, with regard to the great battle of freedom against oppression then going on, we in England could lay our hands upon our hearts, and in the face of God and man say, "We have well and sufficiently performed our part?" The speaker closed with this noble appeal on behalf of the oppressed races: "Sir, there were other days when England was the hope of freedom. Wherever in the world a high aspiration was entertained or a noble blow was struck, it was to England that the eyes of the oppressed were always turned—to this favourite, this darling home of so much privilege and so much happiness, where the people that had built up a noble edifice for themselves would, it was well known, be ready to do what in them lay to secure the benefit of the same inestimable boon for

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others. You talk to me of the established tradition and policy in regard to Turkey. I appeal to an established tradition, older, wider, nobler far—a tradition not which disregards British interests, but which teaches you to seek the promotion of these interests in obeying the dictates of honour and justice. And, sir, what is to be the end of this? Are we to dress up the fantastic ideas some people entertain about this policy and that policy in the garb of British interests, and then, with a new and base idolatry, fall down and worship them? Or are we to look not at the sentiment, but at the hard facts of the case which Lord Derby told us fifteen years ago—namely, that it is the populations of those countries that will ultimately possess them, that will ultimately determine their abiding condition? It is to this fact, this law, that we should look. There is now before the world a glorious prize. A portion of those unhappy people are still as yet making an effort to retrieve what they have lost so long, but have not ceased to love and to desire. I speak of those in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Another portion—a band of heroes such as the world has rarely seen—stand on the rocks of Montenegro, and are ready now, as they have ever been during the four hundred years of their exile from their fertile plains, to sweep down from their fastnesses, and meet the Turks at any odds, for the re-establishment of justice and of peace in those countries. Another portion still, the 5,000,000 of Bulgarians cowed and beaten down to the ground, hardly venturing to look

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upwards, even to their Father in heaven, have extended their hands to you ; they have sent you their petition ; they have prayed for your help and protection. They have told you that they do not seek alliance with Russia or with any foreign Power, but that they seek to be delivered from an intolerable burden of woe and shame. That burden of woe and shame—the greatest that exists on God's earth—is one that we thought united Europe was about to remove, but to removing which, for the present, you seem to have no efficacious means of offering even the smallest practical contribution. But, sir, the removal of that load of woe and shame is a great and noble prize. It is a prize well worth competing for. It is not yet too late to try to win it. I believe there are men in the Cabinet who would try to win it if they were free to act on their own belief and aspiration. It is not yet too late, I say, to become competitors for that prize ; but be assured that whether you mean to claim for yourselves even a single leaf in that immortal chaplet of renown, which will be the reward of true labour in that cause, or whether you turn your backs upon that cause and upon your own duty, I believe, for one, that the knell of Turkish tyranny in these provinces has sounded. So far as human eye can judge, it is about to be destroyed. The destruction may not come in the way or by the means that we should choose ; but come this boon from what hands it may, it will be a noble boon, and as a noble boon will gladly be accepted by Christendom and the world."

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During the debate, Ministers announced that they would watch the course of events, and if an opportunity offered for interposing their good offices, they would not allow it to pass. This assurance satisfied many members ; and when the division was taken the first resolution was lost by 354 votes to 223.

Not long after this debate Mr. Gladstone addressed a vast audience of 20,000 persons in Bingley Hall, Birmingham, discussing the Eastern question and the position of the Liberal party.

Meanwhile the war in the East proved disastrous for Turkey, and on the 23rd of January, 1878, the Porte agreed to the bases of peace proposed by Russia, and on the 3rd of March ensuing a formal treaty of peace was signed between Russia and Turkey at San Stefano. Under this treaty Turkey agreed to pay a large war indemnity, Servia and Montenegro acquired their independence, and Bulgaria was formed into a new and enlarged Principality.

Further attacks upon the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield were made by Mr. Gladstone in 1878 and 1879 ; but while the strength of the arguments and the success of the oratory lay with the ex-Premier, the serried ranks of the Ministerialists invariably closed up in defence of the Government. Mr. Gladstone condemned the despatch of Indian troops to Malta as unconstitutional, pointed out the danger of Ministerial policy generally, described the Anglo-Turkish Treaty as "an insane covenant," denounced our new responsibilities in Asiatic Turkey, adversely criticised the proposed scientific Indian

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frontier, and strongly condemned the Afghan War. He also delivered many telling blows against the financial policy of the Government.

A brief sitting of Parliament having been called for December, 1878, Mr. Whitbread moved the following amendment to the Address: "That this House disapproves the conduct of her Majesty's Government, which has resulted in the war with Afghanistan." Mr. Gladstone, in supporting the amendment, condemned our irritating policy towards the Ameer, and concluded with these references to the historical and moral aspects of the Afghan difficulty: "You have made this war in concealment from Parliament, in reversal of the policy of every Indian and Home Government that has existed for the last twenty-five years, in contempt of the supplication of the Ameer, and in defiance of the advice of your own agent, and all for the sake of obtaining a scientific frontier. We made war in error upon Afghanistan in 1838. To err is human and pardonable; but we have erred a second time upon the same ground, and with no better justification. This error has been repeated in the face of every warning conceivable and imaginable, and in the face of an unequalled mass of authorities. May Heaven avert a repetition of the calamity which befell our army in 1841. . . . I remember a beautiful description of one of our modern poets of a great battle-field during the Punic wars, in which he observed that for the moment Nature was laid waste, and nothing but the tokens of carnage were left upon the ground; but

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day by day and hour by hour she began her kindly task, and removed one by one, and put out of sight, those hideous tokens, and restored the scene to order, to beauty, and to peace. It was such a process that the Viceroy of India had been carrying on for years in Afghanistan. I now ask, is all this to be undone? The sword is drawn, and misery is to come upon this unhappy country again. The struggle may perhaps be short. God grant that it may be short! God grant that it may be sharp! But you, having once entered upon it, cannot tell whether it will be short or long. You have again brought in devastation, and again created a necessity which, I hope, will be met by other men, with other minds, in happier days; that other Viceroy and other Governments, but other Viceroy especially—such men as Canning, Lawrence, Mayo, and Northbrook—will undo this evil work in which you are now engaged. It cannot be undone in a moment, although the torch of a madman may burn down an edifice which it has taken the genius, the skill, the labour, and the lavish prodigality of ages to erect.”

Though the ex-Premier's powerful speech deeply impressed both sides of the House, the vote of censure was defeated by 328 votes to 227. An amendment by Mr. Fawcett, to the effect that it would be unjust to apply the revenues of India to defray the extraordinary expenses of the military operations against the Ameer of Afghanistan, was likewise lost by 235 to 125.

In the year 1879 Mr. Gladstone published his

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*Gleanings of Past Years*, in seven volumes. The work consisted of articles published in the various reviews and magazines, and a mere mention of some of the subjects will show the immense versatility of the writer. There were articles on such widely different subjects as the "Prince Consort," "Leopardi the Italian Poet," "Kin Beyond Sea," "Ecce Homo," "Wedgwood and his Work," "Germany, France, and England," "The Hellenic Factor in the Eastern Problem," "The County Franchise," "Aggression in Egypt," "The Works of Tennyson," "Blanco White," "Macaulay," "England's Mission," "The Courses of Religious Thought," and "The Place of Ancient Greece in the Providential Order."

During the autumn of 1879 Mr. Gladstone came to the decision to give up his seat at Greenwich, in order to contest Midlothian. The resolve was a bold one, and those who knew the strength of the Buccleuch interest pronounced the step a hopeless one. But, although now seventy years of age, the veteran statesman began his new campaign in earnest, and in the course of a fortnight he addressed audiences numbering 75,000 people, while a quarter of a million persons took part in the demonstrations evoked by his visit. Speeches were delivered at Perth, Dunfermline, Inverkeithing, Dunkeld, Aberfeldy, and Edinburgh, and on the 5th of December he addressed nearly 6000 persons in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow.

On the 8th of March, 1880, Lord Beaconsfield in the Lords, and Sir Stafford Northcote in the



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Commons, announced the immediate dissolution of Parliament. A period of great political excitement and activity ensued. Mr. Gladstone opened the electoral conflict with a speech in Marylebone, and then he left London to begin his second Midlothian campaign. His first address was delivered on the 17th of March, in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, when he dwelt at great length upon questions of foreign policy. He maintained that at home Ministers had neglected legislation, and aggravated the public distress by continual shocks to confidence. Abroad they had strained the prerogative by gross misuse, had weakened the Empire by needless wars, and dishonoured it in the eyes of Europe by their clandestine acquisition of the island of Cyprus. He concluded with these references to his opponents and himself: "I give them credit for patriotic motives; I give them credit for those patriotic motives which are so incessantly and gratuitously denied to us. I believe that we are all united, gentlemen—indeed, it would be most unnatural if we were not—in a fond attachment, perhaps in something of a proud attachment, to the great country to which we belong—to this great Empire which has committed to it a trust and a function given from Providence, as special and remarkable as ever was entrusted to any portion of the family of man. Gentlemen, I feel when I speak of that trust and that function that words fail me; I cannot tell you what I think of the nobleness of the inheritance which has descended upon us, of the sacredness of the duty of maintaining it. I will not



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condescend to make it a part of controversial politics. It is part of my being, of my flesh and blood, of my heart and soul. For those ends I have laboured, through my youth and manhood, till my hairs are grey. In that faith and practice I have lived, in that faith and practice I will die."

The Midlothian contest was naturally followed with the keenest interest by the whole country, and great was the surprise of the Ministerialists when the result of the election was made known thus: Gladstone, 1579; Dalkeith, 1368. This was the largest poll ever recorded in the county, and the Liberal candidate had a greater majority than that which secured the seat for the Conservatives in 1874. The right hon. gentleman was also returned for Leeds by a large majority, but this seat was afterwards filled by his son, Mr. Herbert Gladstone.

In the elections generally the Liberals were extraordinarily successful. The total numbers were—Liberals, 351; Conservatives, 240; Home Rulers, 61. The Liberals had thus a majority of fifty over the Conservatives and Home Rulers combined, a larger proportion than they had enjoyed since the passing of the first Reform Bill.

Lord Beaconsfield resigned office as soon as the result of the elections was made known. The Queen summoned Lord Granville, and afterwards Lord Hartington, but neither of those noblemen could form a Ministry. The country pointed to Mr. Gladstone himself as the only possible Premier, and in the end he accepted office, and formed his second

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Administration. The Cabinet included the Premier himself as Chancellor of the Exchequer, with Lord Selborne as Lord Chancellor, Earl Spencer Lord President of the Council, the Duke of Argyll Lord Privy Seal, Lord Granville Foreign Secretary, Lord Hartington Indian Secretary, Sir W. Harcourt Home Secretary, Lord Kimberley Colonial Secretary, Mr. Childers War Secretary, Lord Northbrook First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Forster Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Bright Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Mr. Chamberlain President of the Board of Trade. A Government of greater strength and equal debating power was probably never formed.

## CHAPTER V

### *HIS LATER MINISTRIES*

WHEN the new Parliament assembled in May, 1880, the Government was called upon to grapple with several difficult questions. Chief amongst these was the case of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, the secularist editor and lecturer, who had been returned for Northampton. In due course Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself at the Speaker's table, with a written claim to be allowed to make a solemn affirmation or declaration of allegiance, instead of taking the oath. This he asserted he had a right to do by the Parliamentary Oaths Act of 1866. As the Speaker declined to adjudicate upon the claim, the House, on the initiative of the Government, appointed a Select Committee to consider and report upon the construction of the Statutes.

The Committee reported against Mr. Bradlaugh by a majority of one, but without waiting for the action of the House, on the 21st of May the hon. member presented himself at the table of the House for the purpose of now taking the oath. This was

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objected to, and in the end another Committee was appointed, which reported by a large majority that Mr. Bradlaugh could not be allowed to take the oath, but that he might make an affirmation at his own risk, subject to the penalties recoverable for taking his seat without the statutory qualification. But the question was further complicated on the 21st of June, when Mr. Labouchere moved a resolution in the House to the effect that Mr. Bradlaugh be permitted to make an affirmation or declaration. Sir H. Giffard moved the rejection of this resolution, and a prolonged debate ensued. Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone delivered eloquent speeches in favour of toleration. The latter said he believed that Mr. Bradlaugh might be admitted under the existing law, and he earnestly begged members not to mix up this matter with a religious discussion. He warned the House that if it interfered to prevent a member from fulfilling what he considered to be his statutory duty, it might find itself engaged in one of two conflicts—a conflict with the courts of law or a conflict with the constituency of Northampton. Mr. Gladstone recapitulated the facts in the case of John Wilkes, showing how the House of Commons had been compelled to acknowledge its proceedings against him as invalid and unconstitutional. He likewise traced the progress of religious toleration since 1828, and enforced the statutory right of every legally-elected member to take the oath. Until he had done so the House of Commons had no jurisdiction over him.

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Notwithstanding the Premier's ably-reasoned pleas, Sir H. Giffard's amendment was carried by 275 to 230. The next stage was reached when Mr. Bradlaugh went down to Northampton in 1881 and was re-elected. Returned a third time in 1882, and yet again a fourth time in 1884, he was still excluded from his seat. When he at length managed to take it, after affirmation, he was sued for penalties for voting in several divisions. This occupied the attention of the law courts at several sittings, and eventually it was decided in Mr. Bradlaugh's favour. At the general election of 1885 he was once more returned for Northampton. He was at length allowed to take his seat in the House of Commons, where he proved to be an able and a useful member.

The heavy burden of public affairs began to tell upon Mr. Gladstone, and at the close of the session he was prostrated with illness. There was a spontaneous outburst of sympathy from all classes of the community, and Downing Street was besieged by distinguished callers. The Premier happily recovered, and when he was approaching convalescence he accepted an offer made by Sir Donald Currie of a voyage in the *Grantully Castle* round the entire coast of England. This voyage proved most beneficial, and he recovered his old energy and elasticity.

At the Lord Mayor's banquet on the 9th of November, 1880, Mr. Gladstone intimated that legislation would be necessary in order to deal with the disturbed condition of Ireland, and accordingly the Parliamentary session of 1881 was mainly

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occupied by Irish affairs. As property and life had become insecure in Ireland, and there was a startling increase in agrarian crime, the Government were reluctantly compelled to introduce and carry through an Irish Coercion Act. It was accompanied, however, by a great and beneficial measure—a second Irish Land Bill. This important Bill instituted a Court for the purpose of dealing with the differences between landlord and tenant. Appeal to it would not be compulsory, but optional. Every tenant in Ireland would have a right to go into the Court to have fixed for his holding “a judicial rent,” which, when fixed, would endure for fifteen years, during which time there could be no eviction of the tenant, except for specific breach of certain specific covenants or non-payment of rent. There would be no power of resumption on the part of the landlord during that period, even with the leave of the Court, and the landlord’s remedy would take the form of a compulsory sale of the tenant-right. At the conclusion of the statutory term of fifteen years, application might be made to the Court for a renewal of tenancy *toties quoties*. If it were renewed, the conditions as to eviction would remain, but the landlord would have a pre-emption of the tenant’s right if he wished to sell. The second part of the Bill provided for powers on the part of the Land Commission to assist tenants to purchase their holdings, and purchase estates from willing landlords for the purpose of re-selling them, where three-fourths of the tenants were willing to buy.

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The Bill was carried through the Lower House, but it was late in the session before it could be despatched to the House of Lords. Amendments made by the peers seemed likely to cause a collision between the two Houses ; but finally an adjustment was arrived at, and there was added to the Statute Book another useful and important measure, which has proved of great value.

Lord Beaconsfield died on the 19th of April, 1881, and on the motion of the Premier it was decided that a monument to his memory should be erected in Westminster Abbey.

In the month of October ensuing Mr. Gladstone visited Leeds, where he delivered several addresses on subjects which then prominently occupied the public attention, particularly on the land question, local government, free trade, and fair trade. Soon after his return to London the Premier received an address from the Corporation, presented by the Recorder, at the Guildhall. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, made some personal references, and then touched upon public questions, including Irish Parliamentary obstruction, the arrest of Mr. Parnell, local government in Ireland, and the position of affairs in South Africa.

The year 1882 was one of great excitement. Early in May England was thrilled with horror by the terrible news that Lord Frederick Cavendish, the new Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Burke, the Under-Secretary, had been assassinated in Phoenix Park, Dublin. The Government thereupon found it

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necessary to introduce a Prevention of Crimes Bill of a very stringent character. Heated discussions arose over an "understanding" known as "The Kilmainham Compact," but Mr. Gladstone was able to vindicate the Government with regard to their alleged negotiations with Mr. Parnell. The Crimes Bill was directed against secret societies and illegal combinations, but the Irish members fiercely contested it step by step, and condemned the Phœnix Park crime as the work of American conspirators. Mr. Bright, who was specially attacked for supporting the Bill, said that it would injure no innocent man, and explained that his doctrine that "Force is no remedy," was intended to apply not to outrages but to grievances. On one occasion, during an all-night sitting, Mr. Parnell and fifteen of his followers were suspended for systematic obstruction. After great difficulty, the Bill was carried through both Houses.

A struggle arose this session between the Lords and the Commons over Mr. Gladstone's Irish Arrears Bill. This measure adopted the principle of gift and compulsion, instead of that of loan and voluntary arrangement, and it proposed to give either landlord or tenant power to apply to the Land Court, under certain conditions, for carrying out a composition with the aid of public funds. The Lords accepted an amendment by Lord Salisbury, depriving the tenant of the right to apply to the Court without the landlord's consent; but as Mr. Gladstone declared this amendment to be fatal to the Bill, the peers gave way, and the measure became law.



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During the session of 1882 Mr. Bright left the Ministry, on the ground that the British intervention in Egypt, and the bombardment of Alexandria formed a manifest violation of the moral law—a view in which Mr. Gladstone and the whole of his other colleagues did not coincide. At the Lord Mayor's banquet in August the Premier further explained and defended his position. "Let it be well understood," he said, "for what we go, and for what we do not go, to Egypt. We do not go to make war on its people, but to rescue them from the oppression of a military tyranny, which at present extinguishes every free voice, and chains every arm of the people of that country. We do not go to repress the growth of Egyptian liberties, for we wish the people well."

The House of Commons met in October to consider the new rules of procedure and other matters. By a new rule, the power of closure was given to the Speaker when he perceived that there was an organized opposition to obstruct public business. The new rules were made standing orders, and some years later the power of closure was given to a House of a hundred members.

In the following December Mr. Gladstone's political jubilee was celebrated, and the right hon. gentleman received a large number of congratulatory letters and addresses, congratulating him on the completion of his fifty years of political life.

The session of 1883 proved a very arduous one, and, in consequence of many protracted and useless

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debates, the Government were compelled to abandon several of their measures. Mr. Gladstone introduced an Affirmation Bill, which provided that members who objected to the oath might have the privilege of simply affirming. The Premier defended the measure in a speech which deserves to rank amongst his highest oratorical efforts. He demonstrated the justice of the proposal, and with broad and liberal-minded arguments called for toleration in this matter. The Conservatives, however, created prejudice against this measure by describing it as a Bradlaugh Relief Bill, and, by straining every nerve, they defeated it by 292 to 289 votes. Among the measures which passed this session were the Bankruptcy Act and the Patents Act, which effected reforms long felt to be necessary. There were also carried the Tenants' Compensation Act—an Act for the encouragement of Irish industry and enterprise—and the Corrupt Practices Act, which dealt stringently with offences at parliamentary and municipal elections. Mr. Parnell's Bill for amending the Irish Land Act of 1881 was rejected by 250 to 63 votes, Mr. Gladstone opposing it on the ground that it was a virtual reconstruction of the Irish Land Act, whose main provisions the Government could not allow to be disturbed.

Early in the session of 1884 the Opposition strongly attacked the Egyptian policy of the Government, and Sir Stafford Northcote moved a vote of censure upon them in connection therewith. The Premier, in defending the Ministerial action with great

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spirit, declared that the Government had found, and not made, the situation in Egypt and the Soudan. Mr. Gladstone said he traced all the mischief to Lord Salisbury's dual control. Though the motive and object had been to secure a better Government for Egypt, a great error had been committed. The British Government had fulfilled all the obligations imposed upon them, and they were acting for the benefit of the civilized world. Reforms had been effected in the judicature, legislature, police, and military organization of Egypt; and they were resolved to see all the vital points recommended carried out by the Khedive's Government. As to the war in the Soudan, it was hateful to the people of Egypt; and England declined to have anything to do with the reconquest of the Soudan. With regard to Hicks Pasha's movements, Mr. Gladstone denied that the British Government were in any way bound to support or assist Hicks Pasha, or to give any advice as to the conduct of the war. To do that would have made them responsible for the war. After the defeat of Hicks Pasha the situation changed, and the Government required the Egyptian Government to abandon their operations in the Soudan. General Gordon, whom Mr. Gladstone characterized as a hero and a genius, had been despatched to Khartoum for the purpose of withdrawing, if possible, in safety the 29,000 soldiers of the Khedive scattered over the Soudan. The General's mission was not the reconquest of the Soudan, but its peaceful evacuation, and the reconstitution of the country, by giving back

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to the Sultan the ancestral power which had been suspended during the Egyptian occupation. The Government had to consider, in any steps which they took, the danger of thwarting Gordon's peaceful mission and endangering his life.

The vote of censure was defeated by 311 to 292 votes. In a speech on an amendment by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the Premier said that the policy of the Government could not be more happily described than by the words "Rescue and Retire." A second vote of censure, moved by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, and complaining of the dilatory conduct of the Government in not taking steps to ensure General Gordon's safety was rejected by 303 to 275 votes.

The achievements of Mr. Gladstone in Parliamentary Reform were crowned in the Sessions of 1884-85 by the passing of a new Franchise Act extending household suffrage to the counties, and a new Redistribution Act. In February, 1884, in introducing the Franchise Bill, the Premier said it completed the work of Parliamentary Reform, and conferred the suffrage upon every person throughout the United Kingdom who was the head of a household. The effect of the Bill was to add to the English constituency upwards of 1,300,000 voters ; to the Scotch constituency upwards of 200,000 ; and to the Irish constituency over 400,000. The measure was keenly debated, and there were ominous utterances by its opponents out-of-doors, which caused Mr. Gladstone to say, that hitherto the attitude of the Government had been, in Shakespeare's words,

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"Beware of entrance to a quarrel ; but, being in it, bear it that the opposer may beware of thee." He declared that the Government had done all they could to avoid a quarrel, and he ventured to predict that a collision between the two Houses ;on this question would open up a prospect more serious than any he remembered since the first Reform Bill. In consequence of the hostile attitude of the Opposition, however, an autumn session was called, in which the Redistribution Bill was introduced, and the Franchise Bill again sent up to the Lords. Ultimately both measures, together with Registration Bills for England, Scotland, and Ireland were carried through both Houses.

The fall of Khartoum and the heroic but lamentable death of General Gordon on the 26th of January, 1885, caused a thrill of horror and indignation throughout the United Kingdom. The Government, moved to instant action, called out the Reserves, and took immediate steps for the overthrow of the Mahdi and the pacification of the Soudan. Notwithstanding this, a vote of censure was brought forward against Ministers, but it was defeated by 302 votes to 288. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Childers, carried a plan for the settlement of the Egyptian finances ; and Mr. Gladstone grappled boldly with the situation caused by the advance of Russia on our Indian frontier. After much diplomacy, the difficulty was adjusted, Russia receiving Penjdeh in consideration of the surrender of Zulfikar to the Ameer.

Although the Government had weathered many

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storms, it was destined to fall in a wholly unexpected manner upon a financial question. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was called upon to deal with a large deficit, a falling revenue, and a greatly increased expenditure. Accordingly, his Budget proposals included a considerable increase in the wine and spirit duties, and a land tax proportioned to that levied on personal property. The country members resisted any new charges upon the land until the promised relief of local taxation had been carried out. Concessions were made, but Sir M. Hicks-Beach moved a hostile Budget amendment, and although Mr. Gladstone warned the House that the Government would resign if defeated, the motion was carried by 264 votes to 252. A number of Liberals, who never expected so close a vote, were absent from the division, and although afterwards they offered to propose a vote of confidence in the Government, Mr. Gladstone declined the proposal, on the ground that the political situation had become intolerable. The Ministry consequently resigned, and Lord Salisbury became Premier.

In November, 1885, the first general election under the new Reform Act took place, and Mr. Gladstone successfully carried through another indefatigable campaign in Midlothian, although in his seventy-sixth year. The country gave the Liberals an immense majority, the numbers being: Liberals, 333; Conservatives, 249; Parnellites, 86; and Independents, 2. When Parliament met in January, 1886, the Salisbury Government were defeated by a

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majority of 79, on an amendment to the Address, affirming the necessity for affording facilities to agricultural labourers to obtain allotments and small holdings. Lord Salisbury immediately resigned, and Mr. Gladstone was called upon to form his third Ministry.

Although surrounded by difficulties, the new Premier resolved to bring forward two great Irish measures of the highest significance. The first was a Bill to amend the provisions for the future government of Ireland—in effect, a measure for granting Home Rule to the Irish people, but with certain Imperial reservations and safeguards. It was introduced on the 8th of April in a densely crowded House. The Prime Minister traced the history of the Irish question, and expressed his conviction that the time had come for granting to Ireland that which she had long been demanding—the right to make her own laws. The Bill, however, was not only opposed by the Conservatives, but by a body of Liberals, including Mr. Bright, Lord Hartington, and Mr. Chamberlain, who were subsequently known as Liberal Unionists, in contradistinction to the great bulk of the Liberal party.

The second great measure, which was introduced on the 16th of April, was the Irish Land Purchase Bill, which was intended to come into operation on the same day as the Home Rule Bill. The Premier, in a second great speech, explained that the object of the Land Bill was to give to all Irish landowners the option of being bought out under the terms of



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the Act. It was proposed to fix the nominal purchase-price at twenty years' purchase of the net rental; and to meet the demand for the means of purchase thus established, Mr. Gladstone suggested the creation of £50,000,000 three per cents. Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan retired from the Ministry in consequence of the new Irish legislation; but the latter withdrew his resignation on certain Imperial assurances being given with regard to Home Rule. The debate on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill began on the 10th of May, when Mr. Gladstone replied to the criticisms of his opponents, and denied that he had ever, at any period of his life, declared Home Rule in Ireland to be incompatible with Imperial unity. He accepted it now as a remedy imperatively necessary for the repression of social disorder; and pointed out that while the policy of the Opposition was coercion, that of the Government was autonomy. "We have before us," he said, "a great opportunity of putting an end to the controversy of seven hundred years, aye, and of knitting together, by bonds firmer and higher in their character than those which heretofore we have mainly used, the hearts and affections of this people, and the noble fabric of the British Empire."

The eloquence fell on deaf ears, so far as the Liberal dissentients were concerned; for when the division on the second reading was taken the Government were found to be in a minority of 30, the numbers being—for the measure, 313; against, 343. In the majority were 93 Liberals. A Bill directed



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against the carrying of arms in Ireland had been carried through both Houses, but in consequence of the defeat of the Home Rule Bill no progress was made with the Land Bill. The Premier now appealed to the country on his Irish policy, and in June he delivered important speeches at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, and Liverpool. The incident which had caused Mr. Gladstone the greatest personal regret was the separation from Mr. Bright, with whom he had laboured for so many years in the diffusion of Liberal principles; and this pain was intensified when, in a speech at Birmingham, Mr. Bright charged him with successfully concealing his thoughts on the Irish question in the previous November. Mr. Gladstone denied this, and pointed out that the position in Ireland had wholly changed from what it was in 1881, when there was a conspiracy for marching through rapine to the disintegration of the United Kingdom. He further denied that he had endeavoured to thrust the details of the Land Purchase Bill upon his colleagues and upon the House of Commons. "If I am a man capable of such an intention, I wonder you ever took office with one so ignorant of the spirit of the Constitution, and so arbitrary in his character. Though this appears to be your opinion of me, I do not think it is the opinion held by my countrymen in general. You quote not a word in support of your charge. It is absolutely untrue." Mr. Bright, in his letter of reply, said, "Though I thus differ from you at this time and on this question, do not imagine that I

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shall ever cease to admire your great qualities, or to value the great services you have rendered to your country."

The Liberals were defeated at the general election of July, 1886, the new House of Commons being constituted as follows: Conservatives, 316; Liberal Unionists, 78; Liberals, 191; and Irish Home Rulers, 85. With this decided majority against him, Mr. Gladstone resigned office, and was again succeeded by Lord Salisbury. Before leaving England for a tour in Bavaria, Mr. Gladstone issued a pamphlet on the Irish question, divided into two parts—I. History of an Idea; II. Lessons of the Elections. In the former he explained his reasons for now advocating Home Rule; and in the latter he showed that, of the four nationalities in the United Kingdom, Scotland approved his Irish policy by three to two, Ireland by four and a half to one, and Wales by five to one; it was England only which had decided against Ireland. In October the ex-Premier was the recipient of five addresses at Hawarden, one being presented on behalf of 400,000 women of Ireland. When the Conservatives introduced a Crimes Prevention Bill (Ireland) of exceptional severity in the session of 1887, Mr. Gladstone condemned it on the grounds that it was not necessary, and that Lord Salisbury had intimated there would be no coercion. He maintained that the Bill was obviously drawn to suppress the free expression of political opinion in Ireland, and to destroy the influence of the National League. But if this were

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its object it failed in its purpose, notwithstanding the imprisonment of Mr. O'Brien and other Irish members.

The session of 1888 was signalized by the passing of the Local Government Act, a democratic measure establishing County Councils throughout the Kingdom. But Irish questions were also very much to the front again, and a Commission was appointed, consisting of three judges, to try the *Times*' charges against Mr. Parnell and other persons. The hearing occupied fifty days, and many sensational and startling episodes occurred. Letters alleged to have been written by Mr. Parnell, implicating him in assassination and crime, were confessed to be forgeries by an Irish witness named Richard Pigott, who afterwards committed suicide; and the *Times* abandoned the charges founded upon the letters, and made an apology to the Irish leader.

Mr. Gladstone had a magnificent reception in Birmingham when he visited that city in November, 1888. He received a number of addresses, and visited various places of interest; and on the 7th he addressed a vast audience of nearly 20,000 persons in Bingley Hall. It was a memorable gathering, and upwards of one hundred Liberal members of Parliament were present. When the ex-Premier rose to speak there was a scene of unparalleled enthusiasm. For some minutes he was kept standing, while volleys of cheering succeeded each other, and ladies waved their handkerchiefs. In his address, Mr. Gladstone impeached the

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Government as a Government of unequal law, as a lawless Government, a Government whose policy and operations the Irish people had a right to resent. The right of combination, enjoyed in England, was withheld in Ireland ; and the right of public meeting was in the hands of the Lord-Lieutenant, whose will was executed and confirmed by magistrates removable at the will of the Executive. Irish members were tried for offences far less serious than sedition, and treated as common felons. He believed that the world generally looked upon our treatment of Ireland as dishonourable to England, and it was a serious thing to deny her thoroughly constitutional claims. In replying to a number of addresses at West Bromwich, Mr. Gladstone said the balance at the last election was cast not by the true sense of the population considered individually as men, but by plural votes given by owners of property, who had already enjoyed occupation votes.

The ex-Premier visited Italy in the winter, but he appeared in the House of Commons at the opening of the session of 1889. When, to the deep regret of the whole nation, the death of Mr. Bright was announced in March, Mr. Gladstone pronounced a warm eulogy upon his friend and former colleague. Events now crowded rapidly upon each other. The ex-Premier made a great political tour in the south-west of England during the Whitsuntide recess. On the 25th of July Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone's golden wedding was celebrated by the presentation of his portrait by Sir J. E. Millais, "the gift of English,

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Scotch, and Irish women." The Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and hosts of personal friends and admirers sent congratulations. Similar recognitions took place in the following December, when the veteran statesman completed his eightieth year. In May, 1890, Mr. Gladstone visited East Anglia, and addressed great meetings at Norwich, Lowestoft, and Great Yarmouth. Then in October he undertook his fifth important Midlothian Campaign, delivering addresses to immense audiences. In October, 1891, he addressed a political gathering of 5000 persons at Newcastle, and in the following month received the freedom of the town. He had a noteworthy reception at the Holborn Restaurant in December, when he met the rural delegates to the Villagers' Conference at breakfast.

In the session of 1892 Mr. Gladstone supported the Small Holdings Bill, but opposed that for Woman's Suffrage. He said that, while he admitted that there were many women who would conscientiously and intelligently exercise the franchise, and confessed that greater justice should be done to women, he would do nothing towards plunging women into the strife and turmoil of masculine political life. As Parliament was now approaching its dissolution, he addressed a meeting of the London Liberal and Radical Union at the Memorial Hall on the 31st of May, and made a lengthy speech upon the programme to be adopted at the ensuing elections.

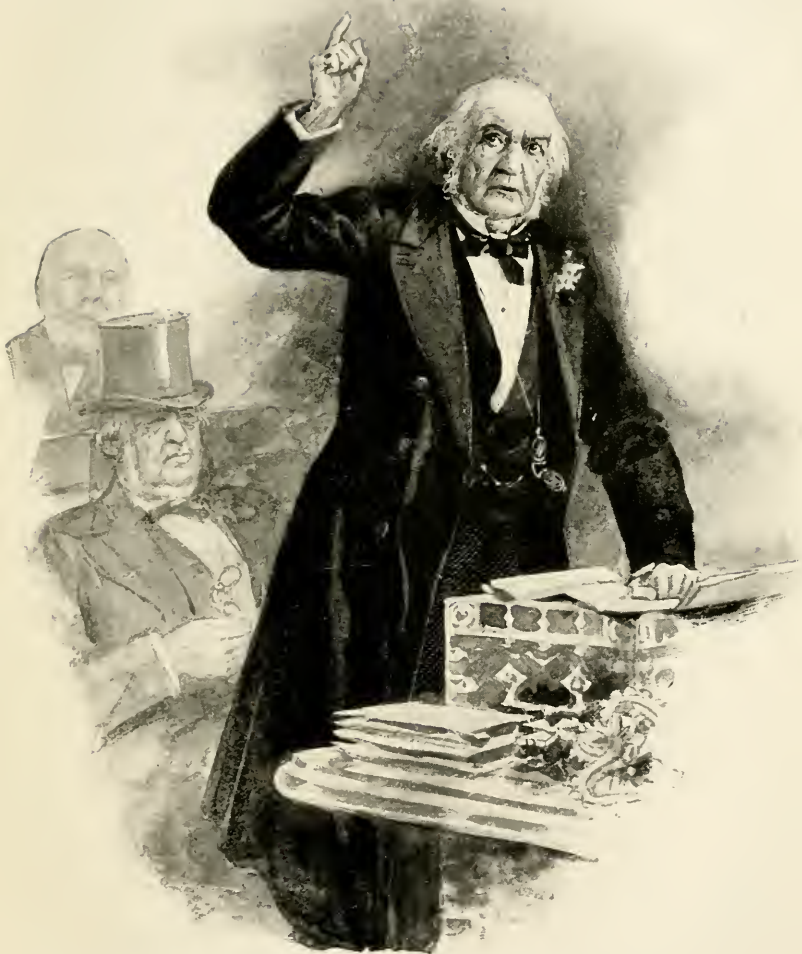
Parliament was dissolved at the close of June,

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1892, and Mr. Gladstone at once made another progress to Midlothian. He addressed numerous important meetings, and seemed little fatigued by his exertions. He was again returned for Midlothian, and the country generally returned a Liberal majority, as he had predicted. The returns were: Liberals, 271; Labour Members, 4; Irish Nationalists, 72; Parnellites, 9; total Liberal strength, 356. The Unionists numbered only 314, namely, Conservatives, 268; Liberal Unionists, 46. At the opening of the new Parliament in August, Mr. Gladstone supported a vote of want of confidence in the Government, proposed by Mr. Asquith. He adduced precedents to show that the Government ought to have resigned after the election without meeting Parliament. Then, enforcing the necessity for granting Home Rule to Ireland, he observed that this question was to him personally almost everything. In one of the largest divisions ever taken, Mr. Asquith's motion was carried by 350 to 310 votes, and the Government resigned.

Mr. Gladstone was now called upon to form his fourth Administration, a fact unparalleled in the history of any British statesman. He had as his Foreign Secretary, Lord Rosebery; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William Harcourt; Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith; and Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. John Morley. On the 18th of August Parliament was prorogued, and it was decided to call no autumn session.

While walking in Hawarden Park on the 27th



MR. GLADSTONE SPEAKING IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE  
HOME RULE FOR IRELAND QUESTION.

*[To face page Co.]*







of August, the Premier was attacked by an infuriated heifer, which knocked him down and trampled on him. He struggled to his feet, and took shelter behind a tree until assistance arrived. Fortunately, he sustained no serious injuries, though the shock must have been considerable to a man of eighty-three. In October he delivered the Romanes Lecture at Oxford, taking for his subject "Mediæval Universities." A few weeks later he was presented with the freedom of the city of Liverpool.

The Premier was the central figure in another great historic scene, on the 13th of February, 1893, when he brought forward in the House of Commons his second Home Rule Bill for Ireland. Conceived practically on the same lines as its predecessor, the measure secured five cardinal principles: first, the establishment of a legislative body, sitting in Dublin, for the conduct of Irish legislation and administration; secondly, the equality of all the kingdoms; thirdly, the equal repartition of Imperial charges; fourthly, practicable provisions for the protection of minorities; and, fifthly, the securing of a real and permanent settlement. In the preamble of the Bill the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was expressly acknowledged; and with respect to the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, the Premier said he had never regarded it as vital to the Bill, but he still thought it would pass the wit of man to devise a plan which should be free from practical objections. But he proposed that Ireland should be represented in the House of Commons by eighty members, with

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limited powers of voting. In moving the second reading, on the 6th of April, Mr. Gladstone made an earnest appeal for the Bill to pass, as the Irish question was the great stumbling-block of the House of Commons, and a standing impediment to the proper performance of its duties. He held that whatever inconveniences might arise on certain points, they were as mere dust in the balance when compared with the importance and vital moment of the great purpose of bringing about a real union of the countries, and a consolidation of the Empire. The second reading was carried by 347 to 304, and the Bill passed through committee before the end of July.

There was a painful and discreditable scene in the House on the last night of the Committee stage of the Bill. Members on both sides were worked up to fever heat, and Mr. Chamberlain having compared the Premier to Herod, an Irish member retorted with the cry of Judas. A Conservative member, Mr. Hayes Fisher, used physical force in endeavouring to eject a Liberal member, Mr. Logan, from a seat which he had taken on the Opposition side. A Committee of Investigation was suggested into the whole proceedings, but Mr. Fisher apologized, and the House gradually calmed down. As another evidence of the public excitement at this time, a threatening letter was sent to Mr. Gladstone by a lunatic named William Henry Townsend. He was charged at Bow Street with firing a revolver in Downing Street, and with sending a letter threatening to kill the Premier if he did not "drop that

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accursed Bill"—the Home Rule Bill. It appears that he laid in wait for Mr. Gladstone, but when he came out of his official residence, he was "so surprised at his appearance, and he looked so cheerful and happy," that he raised his hat with respect. It was subsequent to this that he discharged his pistol in Downing Street. It was proved at his trial that the prisoner was liable to fits of mental aberration, and he was ordered to be detained during her Majesty's pleasure.

The third reading of the Home Rule Bill was moved by the Premier on the 30th of August, in a House crowded to its utmost capacity. He deduced an argument for Home Rule from the systems of government in European and other States, which were all based on the radical and fundamental principle of a division between local and Imperial affairs. Mr. Gladstone then went on to express his regret that the Government had been obliged to resort to the closure in order to advance the measure. He regarded the closure as an evil only to be tolerated for the avoidance of some much greater evil. But what were the Government to do? On clauses 3 and 4 alone no fewer than 141 amendments had been moved, many of them obstructive to the last degree. Altogether, the speeches delivered against the Bill reached the enormous total of 930, which occupied 152 hours in delivery; whereas those in favour of the Bill did not number half, and occupied only 57 hours in delivery. Dealing with the allegations made against the Bill, the Premier

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said they were mainly these : " That it would separate the Irish from the English ; that it would destroy the Constitution ; that it would break up the Empire ; that it would, within the House of Commons, annihilate financial control over the expenditure of the country ; that it would make an Irish delegation supreme in ' British affairs ' within those walls ; that the result to the loyal minority would virtually be slavery in person, property, and religion ; and that the Irish controversy would be fiercer than ever. He believed these pleas to be monstrous and hideous falsehoods, while if they were true they would recoil horribly upon ourselves. He asked whether we were to admit that, after the 700 years of the British connection with Ireland, the result was that we had brought her to a state in which she could not undertake, without danger and ruin, the responsibilities which in every other country had been found to be within the capacity of the people, and to be fraught with the richest benefits ? The supporters of the Bill denied that the brand of incapacity had been laid by the Almighty on one particular branch of our race. Finally, they felt that the passing of this measure would constitute the greatest among all the steps which had hitherto been taken on behalf of the Irish people."

An amendment hostile to the Bill was rejected by 301 to 267, and then the measure passed. It was taken to the Upper House, but the Lords assembled in astonishing numbers for its rejection, and the Bill was thrown out by 419 to 41 votes.

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Early in the following January Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone went to Biarritz for a stay of some weeks ; but when Parliament met again on the 12th of February, 1894, the Premier appeared in his customary place in the House of Commons, when he was received with much enthusiasm. The venerable statesman, however, felt that the time had come when he must resign the Premiership ; but before doing so he delivered a memorable speech in the House of Commons, on the relations of the two Houses, and expressed his conviction that the time must soon come for the nation to insist upon a radical reform of the House of Lords. On the 3rd of March Mr. Gladstone paid his last visit to the Queen at Windsor in his capacity as Minister, and resigned into the hands of her Majesty his appointments as First Lord of the Treasury and Lord Privy Seal. The Nestor of the Liberal party was now in his eighty-fifth year, and he stood alone, for his length of service and personal greatness, by far the grandest figure in the Parliamentary arena.

## CHAPTER VI

### *CLOSING YEARS AND DEATH*

ALTHOUGH he had resigned office, Mr. Gladstone did not immediately retire from Parliament. Indeed, he nominally remained a member of the House of Commons until the close of the existing Parliament. In March, 1894, however, he practically took leave of his constituents in a letter to his friend Sir John Cowan, Chairman of his Midlothian Election Committee. After reviewing the political and social changes which had occurred during the sixty years of his Parliamentary career, he said: "I am deeply convinced that, until the just demands of Ireland have been satisfied, as the House of Commons has tried to satisfy them, neither will the legislative wants of any portion of the United Kingdom be adequately met, nor will the Empire attain the maximum of its union and power, nor will British honour be effectually cleared of the deepest historic stain which has ever attached to it."

As the ex-Premier had for a considerable time suffered from an affection of the eyes, in May, 1894,

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he successfully underwent an operation for cataract of the right eye. Public questions still continued to interest him, and when there was much agitation on the Local Option question, he wrote to Lord Thring: "I am friendly to Local Option, but it can be no more than a partial and an occasional remedy. The mere limitation of the number of houses is, if pretending to the honour of a remedy, little better than an imposture. The growth of the system of tied houses continually aggravates the prevailing mischief." In December he received at Hawarden a deputation of members of the National Church of Armenia in London and Paris, who presented an address. In reply, Mr. Gladstone spoke in very strong terms of the tyranny of the Turks. His remarks elicited much sympathy in the nation, and many Liberals took up the watchword of "Justice to the Christians in the East." The early part of 1895 Mr. Gladstone spent on the Riviera, and in June he accepted an offer by Sir Donald Currie to join with other guests in a voyage on the *Tantallon Castle* to take part in the opening of the Baltic Canal. At Hamburg the venerable statesman received a splendid ovation. On the 3rd of July he wrote to Sir John Cowan formally withdrawing from the representation of Midlothian and from public life.

In August the wrongs of the oppressed Armenians drew him from his retirement, and he addressed a great meeting at Chester, called for the purpose of demanding effective reforms by Turkey. Later he sent a letter to the London Nonconformist Council,



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in which he pointed out that the six great Powers of Europe lay prostrate at the feet of the impotent Sultan of Turkey. Fearful massacres of Armenians being reported again in August, 1896, great indignation was expressed in England, and Mr. Gladstone addressed a great meeting in Liverpool on the subject, on the 24th of September. For upwards of an hour he spoke with something of his old fire and energy to an audience of 6000 persons. It was a marvellous feat for a man in his eighty-seventh year, and he stirred the feelings of his audience deeply when he solemnly called upon the Government to take every possible step to put an end to this terrible evil. Subsequently, in articles and letters, he reiterated his views ; and yet again he spoke in favour of the persecuted Armenians, when a window to the memory of the massacred Christians was unveiled in Hawarden Church on the occasion of Mrs. Gladstone's eighty-fifth birthday.

On the 10th of May, 1897, the Prince and Princess of Wales, who were ever warm admirers of Mr. Gladstone and his wife, paid a visit to the venerable couple at Hawarden Castle. They were accompanied by the Princess Victoria and the Duke and Duchess of Westminster. The greeting between the Princess of Wales and Mrs. Gladstone was of the most affectionate nature. In the course of the day a group photograph was taken of the Prince and Princess of Wales and Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone. The ex-Premier showed some diffidence about being taken, but a lively appeal from the Princess of Wales





HAWARDEN CASTLE.

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brought him out of his obscurity and caused him to laugh heartily. Two months later, the Colonial Premiers who came over for the Queen's great Jubilee—Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Mr. Seddon, and Mr. Reid—visited Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden. They were delighted with their reception, and astonished at the aged statesman's powers of speech, his wonderful animation, and strength of recollection.

In the ensuing autumn Mr. Gladstone's strength began to fail, and he left England for the Riviera earlier than usual. He took up his abode, with his family, at Lord Rendel's mansion at Cannes. When the members of the National Liberal Club celebrated his birthday on the 29th of December, and solicited a message from him, he telegraphed: "I think your appeal to me a great honour, and, in reply, I heartily wish that the coming, and every subsequent meeting, may be addressed to the purposes of truth, justice, honour, peace, good faith, and all that is of good report." The visit abroad did not result in all that improvement in Mr. Gladstone's health which had been hoped for, but he was still able to drive out occasionally, and on the 6th of February, 1898, he and Mrs. Gladstone were able to take Holy Communion together at St. Paul's Church, Cannes, the aged couple kneeling side by side at the table.

As the result of a medical consultation, Mr. Gladstone was brought to England, and he reached London on the 18th of February. Two or three days afterwards he was able to receive the Prince of Wales and other distinguished visitors and friends ;

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but as the doctors recommended a change to some place in the south of England, the ex-Premier and his wife, and several members of the family, left London for Bournemouth on the 22nd of February. They occupied Forest House, on the East Cliff, and for a time the change proved salutary for the ex-Premier. He was still interested in the outer world, and sent sympathetic messages to Welsh and Irish gatherings on St. David's Day and St. Patrick's Day.

The eminent medical men, Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Habershon, held a consultation at Forest House on the 18th of March, and as the result was that no permanent improvement could be reported in the ex-Premier's condition, his removal to Hawarden was decided upon. When the illustrious sufferer left Bournemouth there was a touching scene at the East Station, as he made his way between two lines of passengers stretching from the booking-office to the train. Leaning on the arm of his son, the Rev. Stephen Gladstone, the aged statesman walked, hat in hand, to the train. In response to the fervent utterances of the bystanders: "God bless you, sir!" and "May the richest blessings rest upon you!" Mr. Gladstone turned round, and, facing the crowd, said very distinctly: "God bless you all in this place, and the land you love!" Several of the old men among those who heard the words were moved to tears. The journey to Hawarden was successfully accomplished.

When the serious nature of Mr. Gladstone's illness became known, letters, addresses, and resolutions of

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sympathy poured in from all quarters of the world. The Italian Parliament sent greetings, and wishes for recovery, to "the glorious statesman, long a true friend to Italy." The Greek Archimandrite in London, in requesting the congregation of St. Sophia, Bayswater, to join him in prayer for one who was not only distinguished in many walks of life, but who had "always been a true-hearted servant of God and a loyal soldier of the Cross," added: "William Ewart Gladstone is bound to our nation by a thousand ties of affectionate regard and service. But he is more than the friend of Greece. He is the champion of all that is noble and pure and humanizing. His magnanimity has shone forth in a dark world like a bright ray of sunshine." Dr. Walsh, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, reminded his flock of the duty they owed to the aged and suffering statesman to whom Ireland was mainly indebted for more than one great measure of justice. The friends of Greece in London, assembled to celebrate the anniversary of the declaration of Hellenic independence, prayed that it might please Almighty God yet to spare the invalid to mankind. A similar resolution was passed by the General Body of Dissenting Ministers of the three great denominations—Baptist, Congregational, and Presbyterian.

No hope, however, could be held out of the sufferer's recovery. He was aware of his condition, and seemed thankful when the doctors informed him that there was no chance of recovery. He had done his duty, had fought the good fight, and was ready

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for the Master's call whenever it should come. Almost to the last he entered cheerfully into conversation, and bore his physical sufferings with fortitude and serenity. Queen Victoria and the King of Denmark made daily inquiries concerning his state, and the city of Athens ordered his statue to be erected forthwith, rich and poor all joining in contributions thus to celebrate their greatest English friend since Byron. One message which especially touched the dying statesman came from the University, forwarded through the Vice-Chancellor. He listened most attentively to the whole letter, and bade his daughter write for him in reply: "There is no expression of Christian sympathy that I value more than that of the ancient University of Oxford—the God-fearing and God-sustaining University of Oxford. I served her, perhaps mistakenly, but to the best of my ability. My most earnest prayers are hers to the uttermost and to the last." The Archbishop of Canterbury, in presiding at the annual meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, said the Society assured him of its prayers that he might be upheld and comforted. It recollected with gratitude the many occasions on which, since he became a member in 1837, he had been the Society's eloquent advocate and devout supporter. The Queen wrote an autograph letter to Mr. Gladstone, in which she expressed her great gratitude for the work he had done for the country during his long public life. In an earlier letter, likewise, she had assured the veteran



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statesman that she would ever recall his services to the State and to the Royal House. The Princess of Wales sent a long and tender message to the patient and his family, in which she said : "I am praying for you."

Early in May there was a decided change for the worse in Mr. Gladstone's condition. His strength now began to wane daily. Those privileged to see him spoke of his condition as one of beautiful peace and absolute trust in God. There were many painful scenes when faithful friends and servants individually bade him farewell ; but the pain was theirs, not his. At midnight on the 18th the members of the family gathered for the long good-bye. Mrs. Gladstone, stricken with grief, sat at her husband's bedside, grasping his hand, and occasionally pressing and kissing it. The Rev. Stephen Gladstone at intervals read a prayer, and on one of these occasions the sufferer responded with "Amen," this being the last word he was heard to utter. As five o'clock struck on the morning of Thursday, the 19th of May, 1898, the spirit of this great and strenuous man passed away in perfect peace.

In a few hours the death of Mr. Gladstone was known to the entire nation, and to the whole of the civilized world. For days sympathetic messages continued to be received at Hawarden from all sorts and conditions of men, from crowned heads to those humbler classes for whose moral and material welfare the dead statesman had laboured for two generations.

The meeting of Parliament on the 20th of May

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was one of the great historic occasions of the century, as on that day resolutions were passed similar to those adopted on the death of the great Earl of Chatham. In the House of Lords, the Marquis of Salisbury moved an humble Address to the Queen, praying her Majesty to be graciously pleased to direct that the remains of the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone be publicly interred, and that a monument be erected to his memory in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, bearing an inscription expressive of the public admiration and attachment, and of the high sense entertained of his rare and splendid gifts, as well as of his devoted labour in Parliament and in great offices of State. The noble marquis said that the mass of men recognized in Mr. Gladstone a man guided—whether under mistaken impressions or not mattered not—in all the steps he took, and all the efforts he made, by a high moral ideal and the purest aspirations; and he was honoured by all his countrymen, because for so many years, and through so many vicissitudes and conflicts, that one characteristic never ceased to govern his actions. He would leave behind him a deep and most salutary influence on the political and social thought of the generation in which he lived, and he would be long remembered, not so much for the causes in which he was engaged or the political projects which he promoted, but as a great example, to which history hardly furnished a parallel of a great Christian man.

Lord Kimberley, in seconding the motion, said the Prime Minister had struck the true key-note in



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regard to the extraordinary manifestation of feeling evoked by the death of Mr. Gladstone. The deep and universal regret which the nation felt at his death was due to their appreciation of his high-mindedness and the unvarying uprightness of his conduct, and also to the sense that they had lost not merely a statesman of splendid gifts and great reputation, but one whose life had set a bright example to both high and low among his countrymen.

The Duke of Devonshire, as one who had served in Parliament as a colleague, and also as an opponent, of Mr. Gladstone, said he desired to associate himself unreservedly with what had fallen from the two noble lords who had preceded him. The separation in 1886 of himself and others from the trusted leader, with whom they had had relations of intimate confidence and warm personal friendship, was inevitably painful on both sides ; but he could recall no word of Mr. Gladstone's which added unnecessary bitterness to that separation.

The Earl of Rosebery, who had been associated with the deceased statesman in many critical episodes, said he could never forget that Lord Salisbury himself, when Mr. Gladstone last resigned office, described him as the most brilliant intellect that had been applied to the service of the State since Parliamentary Government began. That seemed to him an adequate and a noble appreciation. Mr. Gladstone's intellect was distinguished by an enormous power of concentration, as well as by the infinite variety and multiplicity of his interests ; and no man of

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recent times ever touched the intellectual life of the country at so many points and over so great a range of years, while the first and most obvious feature of his character was the universality of his human sympathies. His Christian faith, too, was the pure faith of a child confirmed by the experience and the conviction of the man.

The Address was unanimously agreed to.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour moved a similar Address to the Queen, and paid a high tribute to the dead. He described Mr. Gladstone as the greatest member of the greatest deliberative Assembly which the world had ever seen. In his opinion, Mr. Gladstone rendered one service which was altogether apart from the judgment they might be disposed to pass upon particular lines of policy. By his genius he added a dignity and a weight to the deliberations of Parliament that it was impossible to replace.

Sir William Harcourt, in seconding the motion, said the House of Commons, as the nation's representative, was deeply conscious of the void left in its national life. As during his life Mr. Gladstone declined all distinctions, it was for the nation on his death to bestow upon him the highest honour it had at its disposal. Far beyond the age allotted to man he had actively employed the unexhausted resources of his genius and experience in the service of his country. The speaker next proceeded to refer to the rich harmony of Mr. Gladstone's voice, which had the charm of almost physical persuasion, to his

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dignified presence and lucid statement, to the resources of his reasoning, to the high tone of his passionate conviction, and the vehement appeals to conscience and to truth ; and he pointed out that no one of these divine gifts was ever employed for mean or vulgar uses. They were exercised on high matters and for noble ends, and they gave him a power over the hearts of the British people which he believed no orator had ever before possessed.

Mr. Dillon, on behalf of Ireland, and Mr. Alfred Thomas, on behalf of Wales, added their tributes to the illustrious dead, and the Address was voted unanimously.

It was in accord with the universal feeling that the offer of a public funeral and burial in Westminster Abbey was made by the Prime Minister, and ultimately accepted by Mr. Gladstone's family. This last solemn function was fixed for the 28th of May ; and on the 26th and 27th the body of the deceased statesman lay in state in Westminster Hall, when vast bodies of people passed through the Hall to pay their tribute of reverence. In the Abbey, on the day of interment, provision was made for the members of the two Houses of Parliament, the Diplomatic Body, and special representatives of the Church, the Navy, the Army, the Civil Service, the Universities and other learned bodies, the Municipalities and the County Councils, and the Irish grand juries. The place chosen for the grave had been selected many years before by Dean Stanley, and it was now approved by his successor, Dean Bradley. It is

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nearly side by side with the tomb of Pitt, and near by is the statue of Sir Robert Peel. The Gladstone statue, when erected, will face that of his great antagonist, Disraeli. All visitors who henceforth enter Westminster Abbey by the north door, as they proceed down the aisle, will pass over the graves of Fox and Pitt and Gladstone.

The Queen sent the following telegram to Mrs. Gladstone on the morning of the funeral: "My thoughts are much with you to-day, when your dear husband is laid to rest. To-day's ceremony will be most trying and painful for you, but it will be at the same time gratifying to you to see the respect and regret evinced by the nation for the memory of one whose character and intellectual abilities marked him as one of the most distinguished statesmen of my reign. I shall ever gratefully remember his devotion and zeal in all that concerned my personal welfare and that of my family." Messages of sympathy were also forwarded by reigning Sovereigns, Presidents, Colonial Premiers, and others. Especially did Mrs. Gladstone value a telegram which she had received from "five hundred homeless men," who were sheltering on the night of the 21st at Medland Hall, the well-known refuge in Stepney.

A solemn and impressive spectacle was witnessed when the body was deposited in its last resting-place on the 28th. From Westminster Hall to the west front of the Abbey there was a serried mass of silent, sorrowing people, who uncovered as the procession passed. The coffin was preceded by members



"THE TEMPLE OF PEACE"—MR. GLADSTONE'S STUDY AT HAWARDEN.

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## Gladstone

of both Houses of Parliament, and followed by the Gladstone family, the tenantry of the Hawarden estate, and other mourners. The pall-bearers were the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebery, the Duke of Rutland and Lord Kimberley, Mr. Balfour and Sir William Harcourt, Lord Rendel and Mr. George Armitstead. Memorable was the scene inside the Abbey, and imposing was the effect produced when the whole congregation sang Mr. Gladstone's favourite hymns, "Rock of Ages," "Praise to the Holiest in the Height," and "O God, our help in ages past." The burial service was impressively conducted by the Dean of Westminster and the Archbishop of Canterbury. When it was over, the Prince of Wales moved to where Mrs. Gladstone was seated by the grave, bent low, and reverently took her hand and kissed it. The other pall-bearers followed the Prince's example, and then the aged widow rose, and, taking a last look into the grave, was led silently away, followed by the great and illustrious assemblage. It was not long before Mrs. Gladstone herself, the loving wife and faithful helpmeet, followed her noble husband "to that bourne whence no traveller returns."

In William Ewart Gladstone England lost a masterful personality, which has left a strong impress upon the annals of the nineteenth century. Amongst all his contemporaries none touched so closely, or on so many points, the age in which he lived. He was abreast with all its political developments, its



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humanitarian efforts, and its moral, intellectual, and physical energies and sympathies. Nor was his influence confined to his own nation, for he entered deeply into the hopes and aspirations of many struggling European peoples. In a peculiar degree was he the representative of England and Englishmen in the Victorian era, one of the most brilliant periods in the national history.

Mr. Gladstone was not only a matchless political orator, a powerful debater, and the foremost member of Parliament of his time, but he was a manly and a Christian statesman. There was a high moral level in the man, which kept sound and sweet the public life around him. Without cant, he was an earnest, humble Christian, who found strength for the performance of his daily duties in a hidden Source. His career proved conclusively that simplicity of character, frankness and unreservedness of speech, and moral sensibility, are not incompatible with true political greatness. He was a man of the people, and remained a man of the people to the end. He sought no honours or titular distinctions, and, like William Pitt, he passed away bearing the name he was born with. There are some few Englishmen whom it would be absurdly incongruous to associate with a title, and Gladstone was of the select band. They lift the race to a higher level, and dignify it by their lives and deeds ; consequently, they have the highest reward it is in the power of the future to bestow, and they live for ever in the hearts and memories of the generations which follow them.



SIR HENRY HAVELOCK





SIR HENRY HAVELOCK, BART., K.C.B.

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## CHAPTER I

### *TRAINING AND EARLY CAREER*

**I**N Henry Havelock we see realized the ideal of the true Christian warrior. As a man, he was of a deeply refined and sensitive nature, with a strong natural aversion to strife and bloodshed ; but when for the redressing of human wrongs it became necessary to resort to the arbitrament of the sword, there was no more heroic figure on the battle-field than his. As Lord Hardinge well said of him, he was "every inch a soldier, and every inch a Christian."

The Havelocks are a family of great antiquity in the north of England ; and it has long been a matter of very general belief in the district that they trace their origin to Havelok the Dane. Havelock himself said nothing on this point, and it seems to have been enough for him that he came of a moral and God-fearing stock. His father, William Havelock, was a merchant and shipbuilder at Sunderland, who married a daughter of William Ettrick, of High Barnes, near Sunderland, a man of ancient family, which for many generations had held landed property

## Heroes of the XIXth Century

in the County of Durham. Henry Havelock was their second son, and he was born at Bishop Wearmouth, near Sunderland, on the 5th of April, 1795. Having been successful in business, William Havelock migrated with his family to the south of England in 1799, and bought the mansion and park of Ingress, near Dartford, in Kent. Henry and his elder brother, William, received their early education at a private school conducted by the Rev. J. Bradley, curate of Swanscomb, near Dartford. With him they remained for three years. Coolness and fearlessness distinguished Henry as a boy, and when after birds' nests, etc., dangers had no terrors for him. "Were you not frightened," asked his father one day, "when you fell off that tree just now?" "No; I had too much else to do to be frightened. I was thinking about the birds' eggs." Even as a youth he was a great devourer of all military literature, and took a profound interest in the movements of Napoleon and Wellington.

In October, 1804, the boys were removed to the Charterhouse, and were lodged in the boarding-house of the Rev. Matthew Raine, then head master. At that famous school their most intimate friends were Samuel Hinds, William Norris, and Julius Charles Hare, who all attained distinction in after life. The boys knew also, almost as contemporaries, Connop Thirlwall, afterwards Bishop of St. David's; George Grote, the historian; Archdeacon Hale; Sir William MacNaughten, with whom Henry served long afterwards in Cabul; Fox Maule, subsequently Secretary

## Havelock

at War; Eastlake the painter; and Yates the actor.

Havelock remained at the Charterhouse until December, 1811, having early in the same year passed into the sixth form. He was a good and conscientious worker, and had gone through the school with distinction. We learn that it was while at this excellent training place for eminent men that Havelock began to show the real bent of his mind. Notwithstanding the activity and heedlessness of many of the youths around him, and the pressure of studies unfavourable to the development of religious feelings, it was here that he acquired a grave demeanour beyond his years, and imbibed those impressions and ideas which were afterwards confirmed into vital convictions. His quiet and philosophic bearing soon earned for him the sobriquet of "Old Phlos." When he was taunted with such nicknames as "Methodist" he calmly went on his way, his Christian principles being only grounded the deeper for obloquy and opposition. Havelock's mother, who died in 1810, had always wished her son to take to the law as his profession; so in 1814, when it became necessary to arrive at a decision as to his future, he entered the chambers of Chitty, the special pleader, in the Middle Temple. He had for his fellow pupil Talfourd, afterwards the judge, and author of *Ion*. "The serious yet ardent and resolute mind of young Havelock presented precisely those points of similitude and difference with the intellectual refinement and genial kindliness of

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Talfourd, which seem necessary to lasting friendship. The future soldier and the future judge became lifelong friends ; and though their respective walks in life separated them by half the globe, their affection knew no severance ; and each died in the discharge of his duty—the judge on the bench, inculcating love and goodwill among men, the soldier on the field of battle, having saved hundreds of his countrymen and countrywomen from the most frightful of deaths.”

But while Havelock sought to do his duty in the legal sphere he had entered upon, his heart was with his soldier-brother in Spain, and his imagination was fired by the heroic deeds of the British troops in that country. William Havelock, having received his commission in the Army, had joined Wellington's forces in 1810, and soon distinguished himself by his gallantry. The bravery of “the fair-haired boy” was already the talk round the camp-fires, and he again distinguished himself at Waterloo, where he served as Aide-de-Camp to General Baron Alten. Henry yielded to the military propensities of his race, and applied to his brother—who was now in a position of some influence—to obtain a commission for him.

Accordingly, about a month after the battle of Waterloo, Henry Havelock was appointed Second-Lieutenant in the 95th Regiment, now the Rifle Brigade. About this time there seems to have been a reverse in the family fortunes, for Ingress Park was sold, and young Havelock prepared to work his way up in his profession without money and with very



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little interest ; this, too, at the commencement of a long period of peace. Having leisure to study the theory of war, he devoted himself with characteristic energy to this end, as well as to acquiring a knowledge of the practical details of his profession. The first eight years of his military life were passed in uneventful campaigns in the home service. He enjoyed the advantage of associating with many brother officers who had served under Wellington, including Sir Harry Smith, who afterwards made his name famous in India.

In 1823 Havelock exchanged into the 13th Light Infantry, and he embarked with that regiment for India, in the *General Kyd*, in January, 1823. He chose this service in India, and had prepared himself for it by studying Hindostanee and Persian under Dr. Gilchrist. On the voyage out he had the companionship of Major Sale, who was destined many years afterwards to command him in the heroic defence of Jellalabad ; and of Lieutenant Gardner, a man of singular piety, who afterwards retired from the Army and became a missionary. The devotion and religious knowledge of Gardner made a deep impression upon Havelock, who has left it upon record that he was led under his guidance to take the most momentous step in his life, that of making public avowal of his Christianity. From this time forward his faith pervaded his whole character and being. Soon after he landed with his regiment at Calcutta the moral and spiritual welfare of his men received his earnest attention. He not only studied

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the Scriptures with them himself, but sought out godly men in the capital to aid him in the work.

Havelock was in garrison with his regiment at Fort William, Calcutta, in April, 1824, when war was declared against Burmah. He was thereupon appointed to the general staff of Sir Archibald Campbell, as Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General at head-quarters. Proceeding to Rangoon, he took part in the actions near that place ; but his health becoming affected by the deadly climate, he was obliged to return first to Calcutta and then to Bombay and the Deccan. A brother-officer who knew him at this time writes : " When I first knew Havelock, in 1824, he was only eight and twenty ; but he was conspicuous as an earnest student of his profession, a chivalrous soldier, and a man of the highest integrity. That which formed the brightest glory in his whole career was his sterling Christian consistency. He was not a man to parade his opinions or feelings, or to make any striking display, unless called for by some act or word of others, when no one could be more firm in the avowal of his sentiments, and his calm, impressive manner always told with effect."

As soon as his health was restored, Havelock rejoined the Army, and fought at Napadee, Patanago, and Pagham-Myo. On the conclusion of the peace of Yandaboo, he was one of the officers sent to the Burman capital, and there he met with the devoted missionaries Dr. and Mrs. Judson, whose sufferings at the hands of the Burmese had been very great.

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The persistent devotion of Havelock's men to religious and sober habits had a marked effect upon other commanders. On one occasion, when an attack of the enemy was expected at an important point, the officer in command ordered a corps to its defence. It was reported to him that this corps was incapable of undertaking the duty, being for the most part drunk or in hospital or missing. "Then," exclaimed the General, "call out Havelock's saints; they are never drunk, and Havelock is always ready." Again, when a return was ordered of offences committed by the men of the 13th Regiment, Havelock's company was found to be the most sober and the best behaved. Some one complained to the Governor-General that they were Baptists, and the Viceroy replied, "I only wish that the whole regiment was Baptist."

In February, 1829, Havelock married Hannah, a daughter of Dr. Marshman, an eminent minister among the Baptists. It was a close and perfect union, and one thoroughly happy throughout. About a year after this event Havelock was received into the Baptist communion. "While, however," says one writer, "he thus attached himself to a particular sect, he was not less than before a member of Christ's universal Church—his exertions in the cause of religion were confined to no denomination. Wherever Christianity was to be preached, there his humble means and his powerful teaching and example were not wanting. It should be noted, however, that he formed in his regiment a Baptist church, consisting

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of some thirty soldiers. These men were devoted to their officer, not only as their commander, but as their spiritual captain; the other members of the regiment looked up to him with reverence, and even the profligate could not but respect the officer who joined to a perfect performance of his military duty a religious belief and a life conformable thereto. It has been necessary to dwell on these things, that it may be understood how, in his last campaign, he was able to effect such great things with such small means."

In 1835 Havelock was appointed Adjutant of his regiment. There were some who objected to him as a fanatic and an enthusiast, and hoped to get the appointment cancelled, but Lord William Bentinck maintained him in the post, "because he was the fittest man for it." A terrible calamity befell Havelock in 1836, which tested all his fortitude and resignation. His family were residing in a bungalow in the Himalayas, when by some accident the building caught fire, and his infant daughter perished in the flames. His wife also was so seriously injured that it was years before she recovered; and two faithful servants lost their lives.

Havelock published a military memoir on the Burmese War, which was regarded as a valuable document. In 1838, after serving for twenty-three years as a subaltern, he was promoted to a captaincy; and shortly afterwards his regiment was directed to form part of the force intended to replace Shah Shooja on the throne of Cabul. About this time



HAVELOCK'S SAINTS.

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he received the sad intelligence of his own father's death at Exeter, and of his wife's father's death at Serampore. In 1839 the army marched through the dangerous Bolan Pass, occupied Candahar, and performed the notable exploit of the storming of Ghuznee, in all which Havelock was actively engaged. Major Outram, afterwards Havelock's brave and chivalrous companion in arms, greatly distinguished himself in this campaign. As soon as the objects of the expedition had been accomplished by the occupation of Cabul, Havelock and a part of the army returned to India, leaving a force to garrison the city. Next year, however, he returned to Cabul in command of reinforcements.

Now began the most dramatic period in the history of the British arms in Afghanistan. It was soon discovered that the Afghans contemplated a rising; and Sir Robert Sale, with a brigade, including the 13th Regiment, was sent down to Tezeen and Gundamuck for the purpose of keeping open the passes. "The detachment was attacked and harassed along the whole line of march, and when it approached the Khyber Pass," says one biographer of Havelock, "it became manifest that it would be madness to attempt it. Sale promptly seized the open town of Jellalabad, threw up fortifications, under the guidance of Major Broadfoot, Havelock's bosom friend, the spade in one hand, the sword in the other. In six weeks the works were impregnable to any native army; and when they were announced complete, at Havelock's suggestion the whole garrison



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was assembled to return thanks to Almighty God, who had in His mercy enabled them to complete the fortifications necessary for their protection.' 'Let us pray,' said Havelock's well-known voice. This recognition of God's protection completed, the garrison awaited in calm confidence the progress of events. In truth, the garrison were, unconsciously, in a position the most fearful that has ever happened to a military force. The passes before them were impregnable to their numbers; their supplies were limited; they were surrounded by tens of thousands of enraged fanatics. In January, 1842, rumours began to prevail of great disasters; on the 18th a solitary horseman was seen approaching the garrison, wounded, scarcely able to sit his horse, clutching convulsively his broken sword—it was Dr. Brydone, the sole survivor of the army of Cabul! Akbar Khan, flushed with the massacre of a whole British army, surrounded Jellalabad with his excited multitudes; the garrison repulsed every attack. A fearful earthquake destroyed their fortifications in a single night; while the earth yet trembled the garrison formed their ranks, and sallied on the besiegers. The cold benumbed their limbs, their arms dropped from the hands of the chilled sepoy, the military stores were spent, provisions were scarce, the garrison never shrunk for a moment. January, February, March passed, and no succour. Sir George Pollock was at the head of an army ordered for their relief, but did not advance beyond Peshawur. In April their condition became desperate; but one hope



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remained—to make a furious sally, to drive off their besiegers, and to cut their way to Peshawur before the enemy could recover from their defeat. On the morning of the 7th of April the garrison marched out in three divisions of 500 men each, under the command of Sale, Dennis, and Havelock, with six light guns and a small body of horse. Havelock's division, after a short but desperate struggle, turned the enemy's line, the other divisions broke their front; the victory was complete. The enemy, who had lost great numbers, fled, throwing away their arms, and abandoning their guns, their camp, and a great spoil. So complete was the success, that when a few days afterwards Sir George Pollock forced the passes, he found that the garrison of Jellalabad had relieved itself, and was safe and in plenty."

Having next taken part in a retributive campaign against the Afghans, Havelock returned with his regiment to India. At Ferozepore "the illustrious garrison of Jellalabad" was received and publicly thanked by the Governor-General, and it was further welcomed with distinguished honours at every military post. The officers received marks of distinction from the Queen, and a special "Jellalabad medal" was awarded to every man who had formed one of the garrison. Havelock was made a Companion of the Bath, and received a brevet majority, and he was soon afterwards appointed to a regimental majority in the 53rd Regiment. He was once more in the field in the year 1843, and fought at

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Maharajpore in the Gwalior campaign. In 1844 he was made Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet. The first Sikh war broke out in 1845, and Havelock took part in every engagement of that sanguinary campaign—perhaps the most sanguinary that has ever been witnessed in India. His old commander, Sir Robert Sale, fell at Moodkee, where Havelock had two horses killed under him. Only three days later came the terrible fight at Ferozeshah. The armies lay down at night in the ranks in which they had fought during the day, and rose in the morning to continue the fearful strife. Here George Broadfoot, the Governor-General's agent in the North-West Provinces, was killed. Sir Harry Smith, Havelock's old captain in the Rifle Brigade, fought and won the Battle of Aliwal. Then, on the 10th of February, 1846, came the fierce and bloody battle of Sobraon. Here Havelock had a third horse shot under him, the ball passing through his saddle-cloth. It was a miraculous escape. Sobraon concluded the war; Lahore was occupied, the army broke up, and the Commander-in-Chief returned to Simla.

Havelock was now appointed to the important post of Deputy-Adjutant-General to the Queen's troops at Bombay. Notwithstanding his long and arduous services, this was the first earnest of those substantial emoluments which are supposed to be the reward of the hard-working soldier. In 1848 he was appointed Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, and left the Deccan—where he was then on service—for Bombay. Here news reached him

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of the fatal skirmish at Ramnugghur, where his brother William met a warrior's death at the head of his dragoons. Writing to his sister, Havelock said: "His body has never been found, for no one has been able to approach the spot whilst the Sikhs yet remain in position. . . . To how small a number our seven of a family—eight at first—is now reduced!"

As Havelock's health became seriously impaired at this time, he yielded to the solicitations of his friends, and obtained leave to visit England. He had been away from his native land for twenty-seven years. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1849, he left Bombay with his wife and children, and reached England on the 6th of November. In a week or two they all removed to Plymouth, where Havelock resumed his intercourse with the sister to whom he had written his letters from Poona and Bombay. Together they talked over their reminiscences of the past forty years, and of the days of their youth. The family had always been distinguished for its affectionate attachments; and now, while it mourned one brother dead in honour, it welcomed another whose heroic services had won him a high position. Havelock held pleasant communion with men of his own communion, while he also visited old school-mates, and took part in public functions with returned officers from India. He also made careful arrangements for the education of his children in temporal and Christian learning. In September, 1850, he paid a visit to Ems, having been recommended to take advantage of the medicinal waters of Germany

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during his stay in Europe. He was ordered to devour grapes at the rate of eight pounds a day, and from the treatment generally he derived great benefit. In a short time he was comparatively a vigorous, healthy man again.

Havelock and his wife resolved that their children must be educated in Europe, and this decision involved a terrible struggle for Mrs. Havelock. She wanted to go out to India with her husband, and yet the children must not be deprived of the maternal care. At length it was determined that Havelock would go out alone, but on the understanding that wife and children were to follow him when the education of the latter had been completed. It was felt that Bonn would be a suitable place on all accounts for the residence of his family, and accordingly he took a house there, overlooking the Rhine, and spent an enjoyable and beneficial six months with his family at Bonn.

The separation came on the 27th of October, 1851, and little did husband and wife dream that they were destined never to meet again in this world. The few hours before the embarkation and the final farewell were very painful, but the soldier's wife summoned all her fortitude to her aid, and thought of her duty to, and love for, her children. Havelock could not suppress his own sorrow, for his affections were very deep, and the separation weighed heavily upon him. But he went forth committing his loved ones and himself into the hands of Him who had guided him hitherto on the path of life.

## CHAPTER II

### *THE TRAGEDY OF CAWNPORE*

ON his way out, Havelock wrote letters from Frankfort, Leipsic, Dresden, Prague, and Vienna, giving his impressions of those famous cities. Some of these letters were addressed to his boys, with whom he also conversed and communed on their future, directing them as to their studies, and pointing out the way in which they were to grow up into true Christian and manly characters.

Soon after his arrival in India, Havelock was raised to the rank of Colonel by brevet, and in 1854 he received the important appointment of Quarter-Master-General. Writing to his wife from Simla, 9th of July, 1854, he detailed his sixteen days' journey from Bombay, and said : " At Serampore I rose early in the morning, and visited the printing-office, the manufactory, the college—all venerated scenes. In the chapel I saw the monumental slab to your dear mother's memory, on the same wall with those of Carey, Ward, Marshman, and Mack. I read two chapters in the Bible on the table before the pulpit, and prayed alone."

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On the 8th of December, 1854, Havelock was gazetted Adjutant-General to her Majesty's forces, which meant the beginning of laborious work. His separation from his wife and family was now in some degree alleviated by the presence of his two eldest sons, who had gone out to him. These, however, were unable to travel with him in his official journeys to various parts of the provinces. It was arranged that some time during the year 1857 Mrs. Havelock, with others of their children, should join her husband at Bombay, and remain with him until his term of service should entitle him to return to England. But momentous events interposed to prevent this. War having broken out with Persia at the end of 1856, Havelock received the command of a division in the army commanded by his old comrade, Sir James Outram. The campaign was brief but arduous, and it afforded few opportunities of earning distinction. Bushire was taken by the combined operations of the land and sea forces, Mohammerah chiefly by the fleet, and in March, 1857, the war ended by the Shah ratifying the Treaty of Paris. In a field order, the Lieutenant-General of the British force spoke with warm approval of the entire absence of crime amongst so large a body of troops, and he especially thanked Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., for the zealous and valuable assistance he had afforded him at all times in command of the Second Division.

One of Havelock's biographers observes: "An instance of the personal bravery for which Havelock was famous, occurred during this Persian expedition.

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As the steamer which conveyed his men was moving upwards, he saw that they must be exposed to a heavy cannonade when they passed a fort that was bristling with cannon. He ordered his men to lie down flat on the deck, and then took his own station on the paddle-box, that he might act as the emergency required. The danger to himself was imminent, for there came all around him a perfect shower of balls; but he escaped unhurt. He was not touched.

“Fearlessness of this kind had become habitual to him. In part, probably, it was the result of constitutional temperament; but, in a far greater measure, it was the consequence of his active realization of the power and sovereignty of God.

“He was no believer in casualty or chance. The well-known characteristic of the Ironsides of Cromwell distinguished Havelock remarkably. Belief in Providence possessed his soul. Confidence in Divine purposes had taken hold upon him. Of God's immediate and special and personal superintendence over every one who put his trust in Him, he had no kind of doubt. Of more value was he himself than many sparrows. Not one of them fell to the ground without his Father; much less should he ever fall there, except as it had been wisely and graciously ordained. Of the fanaticism which was satisfied with referring everything to fate, he would have been heartily ashamed; in the moral courage which sheltered itself beneath the shadow of the Almighty, he was always ready to rejoice.”



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While Havelock was absent in Persia a terrible calamity befell our Indian Empire. A mutiny, such as has never been seen before or since, broke out amongst the native troops in the Bengal Presidency. The troops massacred their officers, and committed fearful atrocities on civilians, women, and children. The catastrophe which had been dreaded first by Lord Metcalfe, and then by Sir Charles Napier, had at length arrived. The Mohammedans had called upon the Hindoos to resent the attacks upon their caste ; and the Hindoos had stimulated the Mohammedans to make war upon the enemies of their faith. When both made common cause, the army was very much within their power. Amongst other circumstances which precipitated the rising was the issue of a cartridge, which the Hindoos and Mussulmans asserted that they could not use, as it was an offence against their religious prejudices to use anything which required personal contact with animal substances, which they abhorred. Then the year 1857—being the centenary of Plassey—had always been predicted as the year in which the British rule in India would be overthrown. At Meerut, Delhi, Ferozepore, Allyghur, Lucknow, Nusseerabad, Bareilly, Shahjehanpore, and other places the rebels at first carried all before them, and fears for the safety of the Empire were felt in Bombay and Calcutta.

When Havelock reached Bombay the news was brought to him on board his ship. He deemed it to be his duty instantly to return to Bengal. As the journey by land was impracticable, he embarked in



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the steamer *Erin*. But the *Erin* struck on a rock and went to pieces, and Havelock transferred himself to the *Fire Queen* at Point de Galle. On the 7th of June he sailed for Calcutta, and at Madras General Sir Patrick Grant, who had been appointed provisional commander of the army in Bengal, was taken on board. At Madras, also, the melancholy intelligence of the death of General Anson at Umballa was received. On reaching Calcutta, Havelock at once placed himself at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief, and as his acquaintance with the people and with the disturbed districts was very great, he was re-appointed Brigadier-General, and despatched to Allahabad. The object was to relieve Cawnpore, where Sir Hugh Wheeler was threatened, and to support Lucknow, where Sir Henry Lawrence was somewhat pressed.

The time was very critical, for the mutiny had spread over the whole of northern India. Delhi was in the hands of the Sepoy mutineers, and Cawnpore was shut up by the treacherous Indian noble, Nana Sahib. Lucknow, that fine and extensive city, was likewise in the hands of the rebels, and its relief was urgently necessary. The forces placed at Havelock's command were few indeed; they consisted of not more than 1000 Europeans, and he had only 150 Sikhs and 30 Irregular Cavalry—in all, less than 1200 men. But his courage was equal to any emergency, and with his little army of succour he determined to advance to the relief of the beleaguered garrisons, through a country swarming with rebel

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troops, who had been well armed and disciplined by ourselves. Duty was the commander's first thought, and he knew that God could give the victory to the few as to the many. With quiet resolution he set himself to his task, taking with him his eldest son as his aide-de-camp. Terrible news was received by the advancing column while on its way. The fugitives from Futtyghur had been treacherously massacred; and at Cawnpore, the gallant Wheeler, without provisions or water, had capitulated to Nana Sahib, on condition of being permitted to pass in safety to Allahabad. The rebel miscreant had permitted the fugitives to enter the boats, and had then opened a masked fire upon them, so that all perished, either by the bullet, by the sabre, or by drowning—all except about 150 women and children, who were confined in the town, awaiting their doom.

Havelock knew that not a moment was to be lost, and during the first week in July his column pushed on, under a broiling sun. Overtaking a small advance column under Major Renaud, the united force now numbered 1400 British bayonets and 8 guns, together with a small native force. On the 12th of July Havelock came upon the enemy entrenched at Futtehpoore. The action which ensued was long and fiercely disputed; but the fury and skill of the British prevailed, and the enemy fled in utter rout, leaving eleven guns in the hands of the victors. This was Havelock's first victory as the chief in command, and he had now realized the dream

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of his boyhood, which was that he might live to command in a successful battle.

"I have to acquaint your lordship," wrote Havelock to the Governor-General, "that I have this morning attacked and totally defeated the insurgents, capturing eleven guns, and scattering their forces in utter confusion in the direction of Cawnpore. By two harassing marches I joined Major Renaud's advanced column three hours before daylight, encamped about eight o'clock four miles from Futteh-pore, where, pitching our tents, the enemy advanced out of Futteh-pore, and opened fire upon a reconnaissance under Colonel Tytler. I had a wish to defer the fight until to-morrow, but, thus assailed, was compelled to accept the challenge. I marched with eight guns in the centre, under Captain Maude, R.A., forming the whole of the infantry in quarter-distance column in support. Captain Maude's fire electrified the enemy, who abandoned gun after gun, and were then driven by our skirmishers and column through garden enclosures and the streets of Futteh-pore in complete confusion. My loss is merely nominal, not a single European touched. My column had marched twenty-four miles up to the ground I write from; Major Renaud's nineteen miles. The conduct of the troops in sustaining the fatigue of so long a march, and enduring the heat of a frightful sun, is beyond praise. The enemy's strength is said to have been two regiments of cavalry and three of infantry, and eleven guns."

Havelock now resumed the march to Cawnpore,

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but he again encountered the enemy at Aong. Early on the 15th he attacked them, forced their entrenchments, captured their cannon, and drove them headlong before him. They attempted to make a last stand at the Pandoo Bridge, which was defended with heavy cannon. In the notes which Havelock wrote at various points in his career—all expressed in the third person—he thus describes the victorious engagement at Pandoo Bridge: “Having halted the troops for refreshment and short repose, authentic information was received that the bridge on the Pandoo stream was not destroyed, but defended by guns of heavy calibre. As the passage of the river otherwise would have been difficult, to save the bridge Havelock hastily pressed on his troops, and, after a march of three miles, they reached the Nullah, filling the channel with its swollen waters, like a river. The bridge was defended by artillery, and the enemy were entrenched on the opposite bank. Measures were immediately taken to force the passage of the stream. Captain Maude having proposed to envelop it with his artillery fire, by placing three guns on the road and three on either flank, the General consented, and the whole of the Madras Fusiliers, being the most practised marksmen in the forces, were then extended as Enfield riflemen. They lined the banks of the stream, and kept up a galling fire. The enemy opened an effective cannonade upon our column as they advanced along the road. They therefore deployed, and advanced with great steadiness in parade order in support of

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the guns and riflemen. Captain Maude's bullets soon produced an evident effect, and then the right wing of the Fusiliers, led on by Major Renaud, gathered to the bridge, sprang over the short space between them and the foe, followed with alacrity by the infantry in column, and captured two guns. But the Mahrattas did not wait for the bayonet. They fled at all points, and never paused in their race from the bridge of Pandoo Nuddee until they reached Cawnpore."

The news of the defeat of the rebels must have reached Nana Sahib on the night between the 15th and 16th of July. Then began a series of crimes by the ruler of Bithoor, which rendered him a disgrace to humanity and a byword to posterity. We have already referred to his treachery to brave Wheeler and his garrison. On the 10th of June the Nana ordered a lady and her three children, who arrived at Cawnpore as houseless fugitives, to be murdered. The next day another lady, also a fugitive, was shot, and her head sent to the Nana. On the 12th the fugitives from Futtyghur, numbering 136 persons, chiefly females and children, were persuaded to land near Cawnpore, and having been taken to Nana Sahib, by his orders were cruelly slaughtered. But the women and children of the garrison were still in the demon's hands, and upon these helpless creatures he proceeded to wreak a savage revenge which was his crowning infamy. "He filled up the measure of his iniquities on the 15th," says Havelock, "for, on hearing that the

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bridge of the Pandoo Nuddee had been forced, he ordered the immediate massacre of the wives and children of our British soldiers still in his possession in this cantonment, which was carried out by his followers with every circumstance of barbarous malignity." In its cold-blooded atrocity this deed probably stands unparalleled in the history of the human race.

On the 16th Havelock's troops, which had now scored three victories, pushed on joyfully to Cawnpore, for they had heard that the women and children were still safe. News of the terrible tragedy had not yet oozed forth. Nana Sahib, on learning of their approach, resolved upon one more battle before he would yield up his slaughter-house, and he had drawn up his men across the Grand Trunk Road at Ahirwa. They were strongly entrenched, and the advance was swept by seven guns. Havelock accordingly turned off to his left. The ground was well contested, and the enemy held firm in an entrenched hamlet. The contest was decided by a splendid charge of the 78th Highlanders, who carried the village in a rush. Describing this incident, Havelock said: "The opportunity had arrived for which I have long anxiously waited, of developing the prowess of the 78th Highlanders. Three guns of the enemy were strongly posted behind a lofty hamlet, well entrenched. I directed this regiment to advance, and never have I witnessed conduct more admirable. They were led by Colonel Hamilton, and followed him with surpassing steadiness and

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gallantry under a heavy fire. As they approached the village they cheered and charged with the bayonet, the pipes sounding the pibroch. Need I add that the enemy fled, the village was taken, and the guns captured.

“The Highlanders had never fought in that quarter of India before, and their character was unknown to the foe. Their advance has been described by spectators as a beautiful illustration of the power of discipline. With sloped arms and rapid tread, through the broken and heavy lands, and through the well-directed fire of artillery and musketry, linked in their unfaltering lines they followed their mounted leaders, the mark for many rifles. They did not pause to fire—did not even cheer; no sound from them was heard as that living wall came on and on, to conquer or to die. Now they are near the village; but their enemies occupy every house, and from every point a galling fire is poured on them from the heavy guns. The men lie down till the iron storm passes over. It was but for a moment. The General gave the word, ‘Rise up! Advance!’ and wild cheers rung out from those brave lines—wilder even than their fatal fire within a hundred yards, and the pipes sounded the martial pibroch, heard so often as earth’s latest music by dying men. The men sprung up the hill, covered by the smoke of their crushing volley, almost with the speed of their own bullets; over and through all obstacles the gleaming bayonets advanced; and then followed those moments of personal struggle, not often



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protracted, when the Mahrattas learned, too late for life, the power of the Northern arm. The position was theirs. All that stood between them and the guns fled the field or was cut down. General Havelock was with his men. Excited by the scene, some letter-writers say that he exclaimed, 'Well done, 78th; you shall be my own regiment! Another charge like that will win the day.'"

The guns had apparently all been taken, and Havelock had given the word to cease firing, when suddenly a 24-pounder, concealed in a masked battery on the Cawnpore road, opened upon our men, and did great execution. The men lay down to avoid the fire, but it still proved too hot to be endured, so Havelock ordered it to be taken by the 64th Regiment. His son Henry was the aide-de-camp chosen to take the orders. The gallant youth placed himself in front of the regiment, and advanced in the direct line of fire. The officers also led their men with determined valour. All advanced under showers of grape shot, and the gun was captured. For his conduct on this occasion young Havelock received the Victoria Cross. Perceiving all to be lost, the courage of Nana Sahib abandoned him, and he blew up the magazine, and fled from Cawnpore.

"Such was the battle of Cawnpore," observes one historian, "in which 1000 British troops and 300 Sikhs, labouring under every disadvantage, a powerful sun over their heads, a merciless enemy in their front, strongly entrenched—without cavalry, and



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with an artillery of inferior weight—defeated 5000 native troops, armed and trained by our own officers. Perhaps in no action that ever was fought was the superior power of arrangement, moral force, personal daring, and physical strength of the European over the Asiatic more apparent. The rebels fought well; many of them did not flinch from a hand to hand encounter with our troops; they stood well to their guns, served them with accuracy; but yet, in spite of this, of their strong position, of their disproportionate excess in number, they were beaten.”

General Havelock issued the following Order on the morning after the battle, and, as it is one of the last documents which issued from his hand, it will be read with deep interest:—

“Cawnpore, won by Lord Lake in 1803, has been a happy and peaceful place ever since, until the wretched ambition of a man, whose uncle’s life was, by a too indulgent Government, spared in 1817, filled it, in 1857, with rapine and bloodshed. When, soldiers, your valour won the bridge at the Pandoo Nuddee, you were signing the death warrant of the helpless women and children of your comrades of the 32nd. They were murdered in cold blood by the miscreant, Nana Sahib, whose troops fled in dismay at the victorious shout of your line, on the evening of the memorable 16th.

“Soldiers! Your General is satisfied, and more than satisfied with you. He has never seen steadier or more elevated troops; but your labours are only beginning. Between the 7th instant and the 16th

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you have, under the Indian sun of July, marched 126 miles, and fought four actions; but your comrades at Lucknow are in peril. Agra is besieged; Delhi still the focus of mutiny and rebellion. You must make great sacrifices if you would obtain great results. Three cities have to be saved; two strong places to be disblockaded. Your General is confident that he can effect all these things, and restore this part of India to tranquility, if you only second him with your efforts; and if your discipline is equal to your valour.

“Highlanders.—It was my earnest desire to afford you the opportunities of showing how your predecessors conquered at Maida; you have not degenerated. Assaye was not won by a more silent, compact, and resolute charge than was the village near Jausemow on the 16th inst.

“64th.—You have put to silence the jibes of your enemies throughout India. Your fire was reserved until you saw the colour of your enemy’s mustachios—this gave us the victory.”

On the morning of the 17th of July, the men of the 84th Regiment were the first to enter Cawnpore. They scoured the town for armed rebels, but could discover none. But there rushed towards them a haggard European, Mr. Shepherd, who had been sentenced some time before by Nana Sahib to work upon the roads, and who had been forgotten during the massacre. He was the only English survivor, and he led the soldiers to the house of death, where they found an awful and heartrending scene. It is

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recorded that the floor of the house and the pavement of the yard were deeply covered with dried and trampled blood, in which were intermingled the long hair of women, the fair locks of children, fragments of female dresses, the hats and shoes of the little ones, the gloves and combs of their mothers, leaves of books, fragments of writing ; the walls bore the marks of sword-cuts—some low down, as the Sepoys had struck at their cowering victims. In a fearful well, uncovered, and surrounded by terrible marks, were the bodies of the victims. Our soldiers, fresh from the desperate struggles on the battle-field, were struck wild by the awful sight—tears burst from eyes that had seen their comrades slain beside them unmoved ; some staggered, palsied by emotions heretofore unknown ; some sobbed with heaving breasts and dry eyes. It was a terrible passage, that hour of agony, when Christian men heaved under their passion.

But with such a scene before them, is it to be wondered at that our soldiers cried aloud for vengeance upon the perpetrators of these diabolical deeds ? Hearing that the archvillain, Nana Sahib, was at his splendid palace-fortress of Bithoor, our troops demanded to be led against him. He was reported to hold the place with 5000 men and 45 guns. The enemy were dismayed, however, and the murderer's heart also failed him. He fled from the place, and his palace was given over to the flames.

During the short campaign from Allahabad to Bithoor, Havelock had captured 44 guns, and won

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four victories—Futtehpoore, Aong, Pandoo Nuddee, and Cawnpore. The battles had all been fought under great disadvantages, and after forced marches under a fierce Eastern sun. He now lost more from disease than he had done on the field of battle. Major Renaud and Captain Stuart Beatson died—the former of his wounds, and the latter of cholera—and reinforcements were absolutely necessary. At Cawnpore, Havelock learned with deep sorrow of the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, one of two brothers whose names are writ large in the history of British India. While encouraging the heroic garrison of Lucknow in its defence, he had been struck by a shell, and died the next day.

His work being done at Cawnpore—though unhappily too late to save the women and children—Havelock now set his face towards Lucknow, with the object of relieving the Residency, where the courageous but almost despairing garrison were now fighting without their head.

## CHAPTER III

### *THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW*

THOUGH there was still hope that the garrison of Lucknow might be relieved, the sands of opportunity were rapidly running out. However, General Neill having brought up a reinforcement of 270 men, Havelock began his march, leaving a small force to secure Cawnpore.

Crossing the Ganges on the 21st of July with 1500 men, Havelock pressed forward with all energy for seven or eight days, and on the 29th came up with the enemy, who were entrenched at Unao. The 78th Highlanders and the 1st Madras Fusiliers, with two guns, began the attack, and drove the enemy from the walled gardens, but in the village they needed the assistance which speedily came up. The enemy were attacked at several points, and their guns taken, and the cavalry and infantry dispersed. The rebels rallied, however, again at Busserut Gunge, behind which ran a nullah, then full of water, crossed by a narrow causeway and bridge. Havelock ordered the 64th to turn the town on the left, and penetrate

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between that bridge and the enemy. The 78th and the Fusiliers quickly carried the earthworks of the town, seized the guns, and drove out the enemy, before the 64th could take up a position to intercept them. The loss of the enemy in the two engagements was 1500 men, and of course the victories were not won without some loss to Havelock; in fact, out of his small force he lost 12 killed and 76 wounded. Cholera also began to attack his little army, and he could not count upon more than 1200 healthy men, while Lucknow was still far away.

On the next day Havelock and his men marched to Munghowur, a few miles from Unao. This place he determined to hold, and from thence he despatched his sick and wounded back to Cawnpore. During the next few days, 200 more men arrived to swell the British forces, and on the 4th of August Havelock began his second march to relieve Lucknow. He discovered the enemy in their old position at Busserut Gunge. As they were in great force, and their defences well planned, and as the inundated country made it necessary to advance upon the high road, Havelock, at the head of his infantry, pushed forward to drive them from the position. They were entirely defeated, and suffered severe loss. The rebels lost 300 in killed and wounded, and the British only 2 killed and 23 wounded.

But the floods brought with them fever and fatigue, and exposure had already weakened our men. Cholera broke out again with greater violence than before, and once more Havelock was obliged

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to turn his face from Lucknow. It had become manifest to him that his present force was inadequate for the relief of the besieged Residency. The enemy were encouraged by Havelock's unfortunate position to advance on the diminished British force. But with only 1000 men the gallant Havelock went to meet them. They were posted at Boorsedke Chowki; they were reckoned at 20,000 men, and their line extended five miles. Perceiving at a glance that this was not a case for manœuvring, but for the display of sheer British valour, Havelock decided that the field must be won, great as were the odds. The battle is thus described by the author of *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army* :—

“Covered by artillery and skirmishers, our troops advanced in echelon of battalions from the right. As they came within range, the enemy unmasked his batteries and poured in a deadly fire; round shot, shell, canister, grape, and shrapnel flew around, about, and amongst our men; fortunately, their guns were levelled too high, and the round shot principally went over the heads of our advancing array. Still the fire was fearful; it did not, however, for an instant check our men; on they went, covered by the guns, till at length these latter had obtained a sufficiently advanced position to get a flanking fire on the enemy's line. This appeared to paralyse them, and at the same moment the Highlanders, who were on the extreme right, made a dashing charge, and carried the enemy's left battery of two guns. This completed their panic; they at once turned and fled,



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and our guns and their own captured batteries turning on them, completed their confusion. On the left we had been equally successful. There the enemy's cavalry had attempted to turn our flank; but the Madras Fusiliers nobly repulsed them; they fled with the remainder of the line.

"The victory was gained; but it was one of those victories which must have called to the General's mind the daring exclamation of Pyrrhus. He had lost one hundred and forty men out of a thousand, and had not advanced ten miles on the road to Lucknow. There was but one course to pursue—to abandon all thought of reaching that place for the present, and to fall back upon Cawnpore. If there had been wanting any further argument to persuade him to this measure, he had it in the intelligence which reached him about this time, that the Nana Sahib had crossed in great force, and was threatening that station.

"His mind was made up. But he held possession of the field of battle, rested on it for two hours, then, taking with him the two guns, trophies of the victory, slowly retired on Mungholwur. The following morning, the 13th of August, he recrossed the Ganges, and rejoined General Neill at Cawnpore."

Cawnpore was threatened in all directions, and Havelock arrived only just in time. Indeed, while he was still on the way, the rebels attacked Neill; but that brave soldier, with a handful of men, gained an easy victory. On the 16th of August Havelock resolved to march against Nana Sahib at Bithoor.

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About noon he came in sight of the enemy, who numbered about 4000 men, all strongly posted. The plain before their position was covered with thick jungle and sugar canes, which reached high above the heads of the men, while the batteries, effectually masked, were defended by thick ramparts, flanked by entrenched quadrangles. The position was also flanked by villages, and comprehended the town of Bithoor, a place of considerable magnitude. Notwithstanding all these advantages, the Sepoys, though at first bold, were unable to stand the onrush of the English soldiery, and fled from an apparently impregnable position, leaving many guns behind them.

Havelock issued the following Field-force Order concerning this brilliant engagement :—

“The Brigadier-General commanding congratulates the troops on the result of their exertions in the combat of yesterday. The enemy were driven, with the loss of 250 killed and wounded, from one of the strongest positions in India, which they obdurately defended. They were the flower of the mutinous soldiery, flushed with the successful defection at Saugor and Fyzabad; yet they stood only one short hour against a handful of soldiers of the State, whose ranks had been thinned by sickness and the sword.

“May the hopes of treachery and rebellion be ever thus blasted; and, if conquest can now be achieved under the most trying circumstances, what will be the triumph and retribution of the time when the armies from China, from the Cape, and from

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England, shall sweep through the land? Soldiers! in that moment your labours, your privations, your sufferings, and your valour will not be forgotten by a grateful country. You will be acknowledged to have been the stay and prop of British India in the time of her severest trial."

This was the last action in Havelock's first great campaign for the relief of Lucknow. But although the army of deliverance had fought five pitched battles, against vastly superior numbers, and gained splendid victories, it was impossible to proceed with the grand object, and a period of enforced quietude was necessary. Havelock returned to Cawnpore, oppressed with the thought that his independent efforts were not sufficient for the relief of Lucknow.

Early in September General Sir James Outram arrived at Allahabad, with the appointment of Chief Commissioner of Oude, the command of the army, and some reinforcements. On the 16th he reached Cawnpore. Knowing how dear to Havelock was the object on which he was bent, with a rare and noble magnanimity he waived his superior rank, and gave up the chief command to his old companion in arms. In his Divisional Order of the 16th Outram said: "The important duty of first relieving Lucknow has been entrusted to Major-General Havelock, C.B., and Major-General Outram feels that it is due to this distinguished officer, and the strenuous and noble exertions which he has already made to effect that object, that to him should accrue the honour of the achievement.

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“Major-General Outram is confident that the great end for which Havelock and his brave troops have so long and so gloriously fought, will now, under the blessing of Providence, be accomplished.

“The Major-General, therefore, in gratitude for, and admiration of, the brilliant deeds in arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion, and will accompany the force to Lucknow, in his civil capacity as Chief Commissioner of Oude, tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer.

“On the relief of Lucknow, the Major-General will resume his position at the head of the forces.”

Havelock, in acknowledging this chivalrous and generous action, issued the following Order to his troops:—

“Brigadier-General Havelock, in making known to the column the kind and generous determination of General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., to leave to him the task of relieving Lucknow, and rescuing its gallant and enduring garrison, has only to express his hope that the troops will strive, by their exemplary and gallant conduct in the field, to justify the confidence thus reposed in them.”

Cawnpore having been left in a state of defence under Colonel O'Brien, Havelock crossed the Ganges on the 19th of September. The river was in full flood, and the passage was difficult. Passing on the other side into a sandy country, the march was pursued under a fierce sun. Nothing was heard for

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days at Cawnpore of the progress of the army. The force was divided into two brigades of infantry—the first comprising the 5th Fusiliers, the 84th Queen's, part of the 64th Foot, and the 1st Madras Fusiliers, with General Neill in command ; the second brigade was formed by the 78th, the 90th, and the Sikh Regiment of Ferozepore, with Brigadier Hamilton of the 78th in command. The third brigade was artillery, and consisted of Captain Maude's, Captain Olphert's, and Brevet-Major Eyre's batteries, under the command of Major Cope. The cavalry consisted of a small body of volunteers and a few irregular horsemen of a native corps, with Captain Barrow in command ; and there was a small body of Engineers under Captain Crommelin.

The enemy were first encountered at Mungarwar, where they were very numerous, and offered a prolonged resistance. They were turned, however, by Havelock's guns and the charge of Captain Maude ; and as they fled from the field they encountered a new foe, for Sir James Outram, heading the volunteer cavalry, turned their flight into a rout, capturing two more guns, and leaving 120 of the enemy sabred on the plain. The rebels now fell back upon the strong position of the Alum Bagh, about three miles from Lucknow, in great numbers, and so posted that they could not be turned. Havelock modified his usual plan of attack, and, commending his cause to God, he prepared his attack. The infantry were pushed forward rapidly, and although a hurricane of round shot and shell ploughed their ranks and thinned

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their sections, they never faltered. His left at last enveloped the enemy's right, and, charging through the soft ground, where the men sank deep at every step, they drove their foe before them, capturing one village after another, and seizing five guns. The attack proved irresistible; the enemy's right was crushed and driven from the field, while his centre was exposed to a heavy artillery fire from our batteries; and as the battle now pressed upon his left, that wing and the centre broke up and fled. Sir James Outram, at the head of his handful of cavalry, bravely pursued the enemy, regardless of the great odds; and eventually the battle of Alum Bagh was won.

But the relieving force, though thus victorious, were far from being near the conclusion of their task. The beleaguered Residency was on the other side of the city, and the way had still to be forced with less than 2500 men, through three miles of narrow streets, of which the houses were loopholed, and crowded with at least 50,000 men. Of these a large proportion were regular soldiers; for a large proportion of our Sepoys had been recruited from Oude, and on their revolt had returned to the capital of their native Sovereign. The heroic struggle which now took place has thus been described by one historian:—

“While the contest lay among the loopholed garden walls and barred houses of the suburbs, science and a heavy artillery gave our troops success without serious loss; but as the enemy fell back within the city the resistance became deadly. The bridge over

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the canal which surrounds the city was taken after a severe struggle. Here it was necessary to leave the heavy guns; these powerful auxiliaries were of no use within the city; the Highlanders were left to guard them. The diminished force advanced, making a detour to avoid the dense houses. The enemy were on the alert; mustering in large numbers, with a numerous artillery, they fell upon the Highlanders at the bridge, and, manning the houses, kept up a fire to which no return could be given. The brave 78th seemed about to perish; but, resolving to die fighting, they rushed upon three guns which had been most fatal and carried them; then gathering up their wounded, they passed the guns and waggons over the bridge, and pressed forward to join their comrades. Havelock had learnt their danger, halted his men when even delay seemed fatal, and sent back a detachment, which extricated the Highlanders from the toils. All pressed forward together to the Kaiser Bagh. This was a strong building surrounded by strong walls, loopholed and planted with cannon, and manned by thousands of riflemen. From every building around streamed an incessant storm of bullets and cannon shot. To pause was not less dangerous than to advance. The regiments rushed on the batteries with cheers; they were carried and silenced, and the force pushed on, regardless of the musketry fire, under which men dropped at every step. The walls of the Furred Buksh and the Mootee Mehal gave a shelter. The men had now been fighting for many hours—a fifth of their numbers had



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fallen—even the chivalrous Outram thought it was time to pause ; he proposed to rest the men for the night in the Mootee Mehal, and resume the advance in the morning. But Havelock's soul was undisturbed by the dangers around him. He represented that the delay would give the enemy time to make the remaining space impassable, and even to overpower the garrison during the night ; they were known to be in the uttermost extremity. Leaving their wounded and baggage under a guard, Havelock and Outram placed themselves at the head of the Highlanders and Sikhs and rushed on the Residency. . No words can describe that march of fire and death. From every wall, from every house-top, from every corner, streamed incessant storms of shot. The infuriated enemy, secure behind their walls and in their numbers, showed their heads over their parapets or from their casements, and poured forth hideous curses as they fired their many thousand rifles on the handful below. The path was marked by the slain and dying ; the brave Neill fell dead ; but nothing could stop our men, every obstacle was overcome ; at last the gates of the Residency appeared before the heroic remnant ! It was full time ! Another day, and the horrors of Cawnpore would have been repeated ; for the enemy had driven their mines under the fortifications, and further resistance would become impossible. Even now much remained to be done ; the remainder of the relieving force, with the artillery, stores, munitions, and wounded, had to be gathered within the forts. This could not be done

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without further loss ; but it was at length completed, and Lucknow was safe. The corpses of the fallen were necessarily left to the fury of the enemy, and, alas ! many of the wounded, who were put to the most cruel deaths. The relief of the Residency had cost nearly a third of the English force."

Who can measure the joy of the besieged in their welcome of the relief column ? Enthusiastic is a faint term for it ; old men and women and wan infants poured down in one weeping crowd to welcome their deliverers.

Havelock's great mission of mercy having now been successfully accomplished, General Outram assumed the command.

Great and arduous duties still remained to be done. Outside the defences of the Residency there still lay the wounded, the heavy train, and a large number of troops. All these must be brought in, although the enemy, who were thousands in number, might be expected to interpose every obstacle. Especially was it necessary that the wounded and their convoys should be safely guarded. Outram despatched a party of 250 men to effect a junction with Colonel Campbell, who was then with the wounded and the heavy guns in the Mootee Mehal ; and they were to bring in other detached parties, left with suitable escorts on the route of the 25th. Although the troops were able to effect their purpose after being reinforced, the difficulties they had to contend with were stupendous. A surgeon attached to the relieving column, who had been left behind

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with a party of wounded, supplied the following graphic narrative of the rescue to Dr. Brock, for his *Memoir* of Havelock:—

“At daybreak the enemy got our range in the building, and kept pouring their shot and shell into us, killing numbers. One poor fellow, an assistant-surgeon in the artillery, was anxious for me to assist him in an operation. I was on my way with him to do it ; the shots were whistling all about us. I said, ‘Well, Bertram, I wish I could see my way out of this.’ ‘Oh,’ he said, ‘there’s no danger whatever.’ Next minute he was shot dead beside me. Two minutes before he spoke of the pleasure he expected in rejoining his wife and child at Lucknow. Our situation was now very critical. The enemy were pressing very close, and kept up a storm of shot, shell, and musketry on us. We were cut off from the main body of the army by about a mile, and they could not help us, as they themselves were fighting hard. At last the Colonel came to me, and told me that his arrangements were perfected ; he would give me a guard of 150 men, and with them I was to get the wounded into the entrenched camp as best I could. I got the wounded ready in a string, and after a long breath I left the building. For 200 yards the enemy did us no harm, but here we had to cross a deepish river—it took me nearly up to my chest ; and such a fire we got into here ! Some of the wounded were drowned, some killed, but most got across ; and on we went to a street where we were promised comparative safety. Our escort

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preceded us, firing all the way ; but they had really no chance, they were shot down right and left. When I got to the entrance of the street I found a number of them lying dead, and most of the others had rushed on for their lives. On looking round I found that the palanquin-bearers were being killed from the walls, and those remaining flung down the wounded, and no menace or entreaty could prevail on them to lift them again. I tried to get a few wounded together ; but by this time the sepoys had gathered around us on every house-top, and had nothing to do but bring us down at their leisure. All hope seemed gone ; but as a last resource I ran with four others into a small one-storied house, three rooms on a floor, all doors and windows. Other fugitives now joined us—soldiers from the escort, who had escaped, and two badly wounded officers. The sepoys now commenced yelling fearfully. I calculated their numbers at from 500 to 1000. Their leaders tried to get them to charge down on us, but as often as they came on we gave them a volley, and off went the curs ; then they began their yelling again, and reviled us in Hindostanee, telling us that in a few minutes we should be massacred ; they were not more than five yards off, but round the corner, and sheltered from fire. At this time we expected instant death ; it seemed incredible that ten effective men could resist 1000, who were firing a fearful hail of shot through the windows. Three of our number inside were struck down wounded, and this diminished our fire. The sepoys all this time

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were massacring the wounded men in the palanquins (we rescued two more wounded officers and five more wounded men); perhaps they killed forty by firing volleys at the palanquins. The rebels now gave up the attempt to storm us, but crept up to the windows and fired in on us, so we had to lie down on the ground for a time, and let them fire over us; there was no door to the doorway, so we made a barricade of sand-bags, by digging the floor with bayonets, and using the dead sepoy's clothes to hold the sand; we also piled up the dead so as to obstruct men rushing on us. My duties as the only unwounded officer were to direct and encourage the men; as a surgeon, to dress the wounded; as a man, to use a rifle belonging to a wounded man when he fell. After a while we saw that the enemy were tired of rushing on us; we had killed over twenty of them, and must have wounded many more; this damped them. We now told off one man to fire from each window and three from the door. My post was at a window. I had my revolver, but only five shots left in it. I had no second, and worst of all, no fresh charges. I must tell you that an Eastern window means a lattice work. All this time I kept watch and ward. After a time a sepoy crept up very cautiously, to fire as usual through the window, quite unconscious that at this time a Feringhee had him covered with a revolver. When he got about three yards from me I shot him dead, and another, who was coming up, was shot by one of the men. For nearly an hour now they were very quiet, only firing at a distance. All at once we

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heard in the street a dull rumbling noise, which froze me to the very heart. I jumped up, and said, 'Now, men, now or never. Let us rush out and die in the open air, and not be killed like rats in a hole. They are bringing a gun on us.' The men were quite ready, but we now saw that it was not a gun, but something on wheels, with a heavy planking in front too thick for our shot to enter. They brought it to the very window I was firing at. I could touch it, but my shots were useless. To shorten my story, after half an hour they set the house in flames, and we were enabled to escape by breaking through into the second room, which opened into a large square, where we found a shed, with large doorways at intervals; into this we got, carrying our wounded, who, strange to say, were the only ones hurt. Three of them were mortally wounded whilst we were carrying them; we sound men did not get a scratch. It was a complete surprise to the enemy. They expected us by the door, and not by the way we came, so the pleasure of shooting us as we ran from the burning house was denied them, and when they did see us, they, with at least 600 men, only shot three already wounded men. It was now three in the afternoon, and our position seemed hopeless. We thought up to this time that the General would never leave us without succour, but now we thought that the sepoys must have quite hemmed in our army. Imagine our horror when we found that the shed we were in was loopholed everywhere; it had been used the day before as a place to fire on our army from

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and the sepoy came creeping up now to the loop-holes, firing in suddenly, and off again. We now put a man at every loophole as far as they would go ; even wounded men were put to watch, and this soon checked the bold, brave sepoy, for whom one British soldier is an object of terrible dread. We soon had a worse alarm. The sepoy got on the roof, bored holes through it, and fired down on us. The first two shots were fired at me, the muzzles of the pieces being perhaps four feet from me, and neither shot hurt me, beyond a lot of stuff from the roof being sent with force into my face, and a trifling hurt in my hand ; nothing more wonderful in the way of narrow escapes was ever seen. This could not last ; so we bored through the wall of the shed into the courtyard behind, and two of us went cautiously out to reconnoitre. For some time the sepoy did not see us, as it was getting dark. About fifty yards off was a mosque, with no one in it, as I found by creeping on all-fours into it ; but before we could get the wounded out we were discovered. We now ran back to the shed. However, we had in the interval secured a chatty of excellent water belonging to the sepoy. And what a prize it was ! The wounded were dying with thirst, and we, who had been biting cartridges all day, were just as bad. It gave us one good draught all round, and after it we felt twice the men we did before. Being a long shed, we had a great deal to defend ; but luckily the sepoy found out that if they could fire through the roof, so could we, with the advantage of knowing exactly where they were



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by the noise of their feet ; so they kept off the roof. We now organized our defence, told off each man to his alarm post, and told off the sentries and reliefs. Including wounded, there were nine men fit for sentry, seven men fit to fight, and of these six unhurt, including myself. It was agreed that, if the sepoys forced the shed, we should rush out and die outside. By this time all our wounded were in their possession, and they were put to death, with horrible tortures, actually before our faces ; some were burnt alive in the palanquins ; the shrieks of these men chilled one's blood. The terrors of that awful night were almost maddening—raging thirst, fierce rage against those who, as we thought, had, without an attempt at succour, left us to perish, uncertainty as to where the sepoys would next attack us ; add to this the exhaustion produced by want of food, heat, and anxiety. I now proposed to our men either to fight our way back to the rear-guard or forward to the entrenched camp ; but there were only two who would go, and so I refused to go, as we could not for shame desert eight wounded men ; still I tried to persuade all to make the trial ; some one might escape ; as it was, no one could. Day broke soon after, and we had all fallen into perfect apathy ; our nerves, so highly strung for twenty hours, seemed now to have gone quite the other way. Suddenly a few shots were fired outside ; then more ; then we heard the sharp crack of our own Enfield rifles. Ryan, who was sentry, now shouted, ' Oh, boys, them's our own chaps ! ' Still we were uncertain, till presently we heard a regular

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rattling volley, such as no sepoy could give. Oh, how our hearts jumped into our mouths then! Up we got; now I said, 'Men, cheer together.' Our people outside heard us, and sent a cheer back. We replied like madmen, and shouted to them to keep off our side. We also fired through all the loopholes at the sepoy, to keep them from firing at our men advancing. In five minutes we were all rescued, and in the midst of our own people; half an hour after we were settled down in the King of Oude's palace—conquerors."

Having safely brought the wounded and the artillery into the Residency, the problem now before Outram was the future disposition of Havelock's column. The situation was critical and precarious. The wounded and the women and children within the Residency numbered 1500; and to withdraw them through such a baptism of fire as the army had experienced was manifestly impossible. There were two alternatives—either to leave a reinforcement with the original garrison, and force a way out with the remainder, or to occupy the place with the whole, and hold their own within the walls. The former course would probably end in the destruction of both the divided corps; the latter would provide so strong a garrison as to render them safe from attack, until a competent army should effect their final deliverance. Outram adopted the latter plan. While Brigadier Inglis retained the command of the original garrison of the Residency, General Havelock and his troops proceeded to drive out the

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enemy, and occupy the palaces, extending from the Residency along the river bank to a point near the Kaiser Bagh. This was effected on the 27th of September.

Havelock not only continually experienced the extreme difficulty of defending his widely-extended lines with very insufficient means, but, in consequence of an elaborate system of mining adopted by the enemy, he was obliged to begin an equally elaborate system of counter-mining, which required unwearied exertion by night and by day. "I am aware of no parallel to our series of mines in modern war," wrote General Outram after the final relief of the garrison. "Twenty-one shafts, aggregating 200 feet in depth, and 3291 feet of gallery, have been executed. The enemy advanced twenty mines against the palaces and outposts. Of these they exploded three, which caused us loss of life, and two which did no injury; seven have been blown in; and out of seven others the enemy have been driven, and their galleries taken possession of by our miners—results of which the Engineer Department may well be proud. The reports and plans forwarded by Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., and now submitted to his Excellency, will explain how a line of gardens, courts, and dwelling-houses, without fortified enceinte, without flanking defences, and closely connected with the buildings of a city, has been maintained for eight weeks in a certain degree of security; but notwithstanding the close and constant musketry fire from loopholed walls and windows, often within thirty yards, and from

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every lofty building within rifle range, and notwithstanding a frequent though desultory fire of round shot and grape from guns posted at various distances from 70 to 500 yards ! ”

Eventually, however, the gunpowder began to fail, and something must be done to counteract the cunning devices of the rebels. Accordingly, round the more advanced and exposed portion of Havelock's position a kind of subterranean cordon was drawn. Various deep shafts were sunk, and from these listening galleries were constructed, three feet in height and two feet in breadth, of great length, encircling the whole of that portion of their position open to attack by mining. The engineers were ever on the alert to discover the approach of the enemy's works, in order that they might break into their mines, or destroy them by small charges of powder, before they could reach Havelock's subterranean boundary. It was a novel defence, but withal a successful one upon every occasion on which it was put to the test. The character of the operations will best be understood from this description of a single case by Lieutenant Hutchinson :—

“We broke into their gallery some twelve feet from our wall about twelve o'clock at night, and Sergeant Day, our superintending miner, remained below, assisted by others, holding the entrance to their gallery until I arrived.

“On entering the enemy's gallery, I took Corporal Thompson, of the 78th Highlanders, with me, and, observing the apparently great length of the enemy's

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mine, proceeded cautiously to extinguish the lights, so as to keep ourselves in darkness as we advanced. At this time the enemy were in the mine at or near their shaft, which, contrary to their usual practice, they evidently wished to hold uninjured. They generally fill them in at once when we take their gallery.

"I proceeded, extinguishing the lights, until I distinctly saw the enemy at the far end, and to advance further would be to advance in a blaze of light. I therefore lay down and waited, as our preparations above, carried on under Lieutenant Tulloch, were not yet ready. Whilst lying there, I saw a sepoy with musket at trail advance down the mine, and when within forty feet of him fired at him. My pistol missed fire, and, before Corporal Thompson could hand me his pistol, the sepoy had retreated. After remaining some time longer, I placed another man with Corporal Thompson, and went up to get an officer down, as I felt it required a very steady man down there to support us. While we were laying the charge, and making various arrangements, which utterly precluded our watching against an enemy's advance at the same time, Lieutenant Hay, of the 78th Highlanders, then commanding the picket, kindly volunteered and took up my old post. Lieutenant Tulloch and Sergeant Day quickly got the powder down, and all arrangements ready, when we then withdrew Lieutenant Hay behind the partial barricade we had formed; and whilst here, still watching with Corporal Thompson, he got two

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shots at another man who attempted to come down the mine, and apparently wounded him. The enemy made no more attempts to come down the mine, but went outside their building, and came over our heads, apparently with the intention of breaking through. After some quarter of an hour's walking overhead, they, I conclude, could not find the direction of the mine, and retreated into the house.

"Our charge of 50 lbs. which I had laid outside our barricade, and 82 feet up the enemy's gallery, was soon tamped, and the charge fired for Lieutenant Tulloch. The charge being laid with nine feet of sand-bag tamping behind it, and none in front, the main force of the powder acted towards the enemy's shaft, but it took down 40 feet backwards towards us, leaving us 40 feet to use as a listening gallery. I deduce the enemy's mine to be 200 feet long and upwards, from the reconnoitring of Lieutenant Hay and myself before we commenced laying our charge, and from the position of the houses it came from. The gallery had numerous air-holes, and was thoroughly ventilated."

In a letter to his family at Bonn, Havelock related a few incidents in connection with this memorable siege and defence of Lucknow. He also spoke of the severe privations to which the garrison were subjected, and while there was daily expectation of rescue by Sir Colin Campbell, he had regretfully to add that his son Henry had been wounded during the desperate fighting in the city. The husband of his cousin Mary had heroically determined to render

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young Havelock whatever aid he could, forgetful of his own peril. He succeeded in succouring the wounded Henry, and bringing him into the Residency, but, alas ! at the cost of his own life. Twice wounded with ball charge, he persevered in carrying his cousin to a place of safety, and then laid himself down to die. It is acts of devotion like this which have made the British army esteemed and honoured.

On the 10th of November, 1857, Havelock wrote a lengthy letter to his family from Lucknow. It was the last but one he ever penned, and it ran as follows :—

“ You will wonder at not having received a letter by the last two mails. It will be best to begin at the beginning of the story. Sir James Outram brought up my reinforcements on the 18th and 19th of September. I threw a noble bridge of boats across the Ganges, and reached the further bank with 2500 men. Sir James announced that I should have the honour of relieving Lucknow, and that he would accompany my force only as Chief Commissioner, and as a volunteer. I beat the enemy on the 21st at Munghulvara, and again at Alum Bagh Bhayon on the 23rd. . . . We penetrated through a long suburb, and passed, under the cover of buildings, a fire from the Kaiser Bagh, or King's Palace, under which nothing could have lived. About this time an orderly brought up intelligence that H. was severely wounded. Night was coming on, and Sir James wished to put the troops into a palace and rest them ; but I strongly represented the necessity



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of reinforcing the garrison, lest it should be attacked and surprised in the darkness. So the 78th Highlanders and the Sikh Regiment of Ferozepore were called to the front. Sir James and I and two of the Staff put ourselves at their heads, and on we charged through streets of loopholed houses, fired at perpetually, and over trenches cut in the road, until we reached in triumph the beleaguered Residency. Then came three cheers from the troops, and the famished garrison found mock-turtle soup and champagne to regale me with as their deliverer. But the rest of my force and guns could not be brought in until the evening of the 26th, and by that time I had lost 535 killed, wounded, and missing. Since that night we have been more closely blockaded than in Jellalabad. We eat a reduced ration of artillery bullock beef, chupatties, and rice; but tea, coffee, sugar, soap, and candles are unknown luxuries. . . . The noble conduct of Mr. Martin Gubbins I must next record.

“My head-quarters were established in the house of the late Mr. Crumaney, who was killed during the siege. Gubbins sent to invite me and all my Staff to come and live in his better house. To this I would not consent, but commended to his care my two wounded officers, Colonel Tytler and H., and he has cared for them as if they were his children. I dine with him once a week, and he keeps me supplied with excellent sherry, without which it would have gone ill with me, for I find it not so easy to starve at sixty-three as at forty-seven. The enemy

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fire at us perpetually with guns, mortars, and musketry, but our casualties are not very numerous. . . . I should have told you that Bensley Thornhill volunteered to go out and bring H. in. Alas! he received one bad wound over the eye, which injured the skull, whilst another ball broke in pieces his right arm. It was amputated. He lingered many days, and then died in the hospital, leaving Mary a young widow. Their only infant had died some time before. We are now daily expecting Sir Colin Campbell. . . . I visit the whole of my posts in the palaces and gardens with my Staff, on foot, daily, but my doctor has advised me to take something strengthening until we can get upon good diet again."

All through the month of October the expectant garrison looked daily for the promised relief, but little news was received concerning the advancing force. On the 12th of November, however, they became aware that Sir Colin Campbell had left Cawnpore upon his march, and that he had effected a junction with Brigadier Grant. His march to the Residency with a force of 5000 men was telegraphed on the 15th, and the excitement of the besieged became intense. Sir Colin, instead of crossing the canal at the bridge of the Char Bagh as Havelock had done, diverged to the right on leaving the Alum Bagh, and crossed the country to the Dilkoosha, a small palace surrounded by gardens, about three miles from the Residency. There were many difficulties to encounter, but, animated by the spirit of their leader, the soldiers pressed on. A stern fight

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took place near the Martinière, but after two hours the troops captured it, and also the Dilkoosha. The march to the Residency was hotly contested from this point, Sir Colin and his troops having to pass a series of strongly-fortified buildings, from all of which a heavy fire was kept up.

On the 16th a strong force of the enemy was encountered at the Sikunder Bagh, a strong square building, surrounded by a wall of masonry, and loopholed all round. A village on the opposite side of the road was also held by the rebels. Artillery was necessary here, and although it was wanted in a position that could not be reached without passing between a raking cross-fire from the village and the Sikunder Bagh, in an incredibly short time two batteries, one of the Bengal and another of the Royal Artillery, were galloping through the guns through a perfect stream of fire. Next, a dazzling line of bayonets, belonging to the 53rd and the Highlanders, closed round the loopholed village, and cleared it at a run. The mutineers beyond were then engaged and dispersed, and driven across the plain, the 53rd chasing them in skirmishing order, while the 93rd seized the abandoned barracks, and converted them into a military post. While this was going forward, the artillery was engaged in battering the walls of the Sikunder Bagh. At last a breach was effected, and then began a charge unexampled for bravery on the part of the Sikhs and Highlanders. As there was no egress from the building, it became a life and death struggle between

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about 400 of the British force and the vastly superior force of the rebels. Eventually the struggle ended with the triumph of our troops and the capture of the Sikunder Bagh. As our men looked upon the piles of dead they exclaimed, "Here is retribution for Cawnpore."

The strongly-defended mosque, the Shah Nujjeef, next barred Sir Colin Campbell's progress. It was surrounded by a garden, protected by a strong wall, which had been loopholed with great care. The top of the building was crowned with a parapet, and from this, as well as from the defences in the garden, an unceasing fire of musketry was kept up. "This position," wrote Sir Colin himself, "was defended with great resolution against a heavy cannonade of three hours. It was then stormed in the boldest manner by the 93rd Highlanders, under Brigadier Hope, supported by a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston, who was, I regret to say, severely wounded; Captain Peel leading up his heavy guns with extraordinary gallantry within a few yards of the building to batter the massive stone walls. The withering fire of the Highlanders effectually covered the Naval Brigade from great loss; but it was an action almost unexampled in war. Captain Peel behaved very much as if he had been laying the *Shannon* alongside an enemy's frigate. This brought the day's operations to a close."

The besieged garrison were able to watch every movement of the relieving force, and its progress was traced with painful and all-absorbing interest.

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They witnessed every gallant achievement of Sir Colin's army, and Generals Outram and Havelock made every preparation to aid their deliverer when he should approach near enough to enable them to operate with safety.

In the last despatch which Havelock ever penned, he thus narrated the course of events:—

“The progress of the relieving force under his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, was anxiously watched, and it was determined that as soon as he should reach the Sikunder Bagh, about three miles from the Residency, the outer wall of the advance garden of the palace, in which the enemy had before made several breaches, should be blown in by the mines previously prepared; that two powerful batteries erected in the enclosure should then open on the insurgents' defences in front, and after the desired effect had been produced, that the troops should storm two buildings known by the names of the Heru-khana, or Deer-house, and the Steam Engine-house. Under these, also, three mines had been driven.

“It was ascertained, about 11 a.m., that Sir Colin Campbell was operating against the Sikunder Bagh. The explosion of the mines in the garden was therefore ordered. Their action was, however, comparatively feeble, so the batteries had the double task of completing the demolition of the wall and prostrating and breaching the works and the buildings beyond it. Brigadier Eyre commanded in the left battery; Captain Olphert in the right; Captain

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Maude shelled from six mortars in a more retired quadrangle of the palace. The troops were formed in the square of the Chuttur Muniyill, and brought up in succession through the approaches, which in every direction intersected the advance garden. At a quarter-past three two of the mines at the Herukhana exploded with good effect. At half-past three the advance sounded. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which this signal was received by the troops. Pent up in inaction for upwards of six weeks, and subjected to constant attacks, they felt that the hour of retribution and glorious exertion had returned.

“Their cheers echoed through the courts of the palace, responsive to the bugle sounds, and on they rushed to assured victory. The enemy could nowhere withstand them. In a few minutes the whole of the buildings were in our possession, and have since been armed with cannon and steadily held against all attack.”

On the day after the fight at the Shah Nujjeef, communications were opened by our troops to the left rear of the barracks to the canal, after overcoming considerable difficulty. Captain Peel maintained a steady cannonade against a building called the mess-house, a structure of considerable size, which was defended by a ditch about twelve feet broad, and scarpred with masonry. Beyond it was a loopholed mud wall. Sir Colin Campbell determined to use the guns as much as possible in taking it.





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The last stage in the relief of Lucknow is thus described by Sir Colin Campbell himself:—

“About 3 p.m., when it was considered that men might be sent to storm it without much risk, it was taken by a company of the 90th Foot, under Captain Wolseley, and a picquet of Her Majesty's 53rd, under Captain Hopkins, supported by Major Barnston's battalion of detachments, under Captain Guise, Her Majesty's 90th Foot, and some of the Punjaub Infantry, under Lieutenant Powlett. The mess-house was carried immediately with a rush.

“The troops then pressed forward with great vigour, and lined the wall separating the mess-house from the Motee Mahal, which consists of a wide enclosure and many buildings. The enemy here made a last stand, which was overcome after an hour, openings having been broken in the wall, through which the troops poured, with a body of sappers, and accomplished our communications with the Residency.

“I had the inexpressible satisfaction, shortly afterwards, of greeting Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock, who came out to meet me before the action was at an end.

“The relief of the besieged garrison had been accomplished.”

Words would fail us in attempting to depict what the meeting must have been between those three knights—Colin Campbell, James Outram, and Henry Havelock—men who were worthy of the chivalry of England in any age.

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The relief was accomplished, but now the Commander-in-Chief had to consider how he could get away the whole of the garrison, including the wounded and the women and children. They could not be left to encounter further hardships and disasters, as must inevitably be the case if it were decided to defend the place, and yet they must depart without delay if at all. Sir Colin determined to effect his object by a ruse. Making new dispositions and continuing his fire, as if he intended to dislodge the enemy from their position round the Residency, he thus kept the rebels employed while he arranged long lines of picquets, through which the women and children with the wounded should be conducted to the Alum Bagh. With the approach of night the removal began, and the cavalcade moved silently and slowly onwards, unnoticed and unchallenged by any dreaded hostile token. The Generals were as anxious and solicitous over every woman and child as though they belonged to their own households.

Not only were precious human lives conveyed from the city, however, but the vast treasure which had been accumulated, and the jewels formerly belonging to the King of Oude. The march went forward undisturbed, and as hour after hour passed without drawback or mishap, the fugitives drew encouragement, and began to feel themselves safe. When the day broke they beheld themselves secure. To the delight of all—deliverers and delivered—not a soul who had left Lucknow was missing. Another march of some hours brought the garrison to the Alum Bagh,

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all thanking God for their wonderful deliverance. The wounded and the sick, and the children and women, were then escorted on towards Cawnpore, on their way to Allahabad. Havelock had bade them all a tender good-bye, his heart being filled with gratitude to Almighty God for His unspeakable mercy.

## CHAPTER IV

### *THE HERO'S DEATH*

THE time was now approaching when he who had spent his strength in saving the lives of others was to render up his own life. It had been manifest to all who were thrown into relations with him that he had long been far from well ; but now that the great burden had been lifted from his shoulders, it was hoped that he would in some measure regain his health.

This hope was rudely shaken when it was perceived that he failed to gain strength. The fatigues of his position, the deadly vapours which were exhaled from the confined space within which a vast number of human and animal carcasses had been interred, and indifferent food, had deeply affected Havelock's health. Moreover, he was now in his sixty-third year, and was exhausted by the effects of more than thirty Indian summers. During the siege his medical attendants had warned him that his strength was on the wane ; but he felt that the exigencies of his position required his utmost

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exertions. Having received the warning, he commended his soul to God, and went on cheerfully with his duties. He had gone to the Alum Bagh after the siege was raised, and here he was taken ill. By midnight on the 20th of November unmistakable signs of dysentery appeared, from which, however, he gained some slight relief. He was still full of thought for others, and pleasure came to himself when he learnt how his bravery had been appreciated in England, and that the first of a series of honours intended for him had been conferred on him by the Queen.

On the 19th of November Havelock had written his last letter home as follows: "Sir Colin has come up with some 5000 men, and much altered the state of affairs. The papers of the 26th September came with him, announcing my elevation to the Commandership of the Bath for my first three battles. I have fought nine more since. . . . Dear H. has been a second time wounded in the same left arm. This second hit was a musket ball in the shoulder. He is in good spirits, and is doing well. . . . Love to the children. . . . I do not, after all, see my elevation in the *Gazette*, but Sir Colin addresses me as Sir Henry Havelock. . . . Our baggage is at Alum Bagh, four miles off; and we all came into this place with a single suit, which hardly any have put off for forty days."

Havelock was in the Dilkoosha when he wrote this letter. His spirits rose under a temporary relief to the physical system, and the report of his improvement was received with heartfelt gladness by the

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whole force. But the improvement was unfortunately delusive. On the 22nd the disease assumed a malignant form, and Havelock knew that he was about to die. With the Bible in his hand, he had often exhorted others against the fear of death, and encouraged them to a perfect reliance on the mercy of God. Now he calmly practised what he had preached, and the 23rd was passed in complete submission to the Lord's will. When his beloved and honoured companion, Sir James Outram, came to see him, he said, "For more than forty years I have so ruled my life that when death came I might face it without fear." The two comrades had frequently faced the last enemy together, and especially during the advance for the relief of Lucknow. Now he knew that his time had come, and that death must be met. "So be it," he remarked ; "I am not in the least afraid. To die is gain." All through his last hours he would keep on saying, "I die happy and contented," knowing that He in whom he believed was able to keep that which he had committed to him till that day. His eldest son was his loving and faithful nurse, and on the 24th of November the sufferer said to him, "Come, my son, and see how a Christian can die." And forthwith he died, in the sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection.

On the 25th a grave was prepared for his remains in the Alum Bagh, and Sir Colin Campbell and the sorrowing comrades who had followed him through so many scenes and vicissitudes saw his body committed to its last resting-place.



## Havelock

England soon acknowledged the merit of her devoted soldier. As we have seen, when the tidings of his three victories on the advance to Cawnpore arrived, he was immediately advanced to the rank of a K.C.B., with the good-service pension of £100 a year, and was made a Major-General. On receipt of the further tidings of his successful march, culminating in the relief of Lucknow, he was appointed to the Colonelcy of the 3rd Foot; the Queen conferred upon him the dignity of a baronet, by the title of Sir Henry Havelock of Lucknow, and sent a message to the House of Commons recommending to their consideration a provision of £1000 a year for life. These honours came too late, however; the gallant soldier had passed away, having died the day before the patent was sealed. A new arrangement was now rendered necessary, and it was very liberally made. The Queen considerably directed that Lady Havelock should have the same rank and privileges as she would have enjoyed had her brave husband lived to receive his reward, and Parliament gave her an annuity of £1000. A new patent of baronetcy was issued in favour of the eldest son, Sir Henry Marshman Havelock, and on him also Parliament conferred a pension of £1000 a year for life. A statue was erected by public subscription to the memory of the deceased warrior in Trafalgar Square.

The country which gave him birth will never cease to remember Havelock as the Christian hero. There was much in him of the character of Cromwell's

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Puritan Ironsiders. He was grave in deportment, fearless in action, severe in his discipline, and strict in his religion. But there was likewise in him a strong vein of humanity and tenderness. None who saw him but were compelled to admire his singleness of purpose and simplicity of heart, and he has inscribed his name indelibly on the roll of British heroes.

# PRINCE BISMARCK





OTTO VON BISMARCK.

*(From the Painting by Franz Lenbach.)*

[To face page 172.]



## CHAPTER I

### *ORIGIN AND EARLY CAREER*

THE Maker of United Germany—for such will be the proud distinction of Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen in the eyes of posterity—came of a noble family, and was born at Schönhausen on the 1st of April, 1815. The ancestral mansion in which the great statesman was born was erected on the foundations of a castle which had been destroyed by fire in 1642. The mansion and estates are situate in one of the Elbe provinces. Originally the family came from Stendal, where, in the early part of the fourteenth century, a certain Rule von Bismarck played a prominent part in the Guild of Tailors and in the Town Council. Like his illustrious descendant, he had frequent disputes with the clergy, and managed to get himself excommunicated.

Passing over the succeeding representatives of the family—several of whom distinguished themselves in the military and political spheres—we come to the Chancellor's father, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand von Bismarck, who was born in 1771, and



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married in 1806 the daughter of the Privy Councillor, Anastasius Ludwig Menken. They had six children, of whom three died early. The fourth child was Otto Edward Leopold, who had a surviving brother, Bernhard, five years older than himself, and a sister, Malwine, who was twelve years younger. The mother is described as a refined and cultivated woman, who shone in society, and shared her husband's Liberal opinions in politics. She was "the intellect of the house, while the father was the heart."

Otto von Bismarck's earliest years were not spent on the ancestral estate, but in Pomerania, whither his parents removed in 1816. They had succeeded by the death of a cousin to the knightly estates of Kniephof, Jarchelin, and Külz, in the circle of Naugard, and it was on the Pomeranian estate of Kniephof, that Bismarck spent the first six years of his life. This estate afterwards came into Otto's possession, and he retained it until 1868, when, having purchased Varzin, it passed into the possession of his eldest nephew, Lieutenant Philip von Bismarck. As the possessor of Kniephof the Minister sat in the Upper Chamber for the ancient and established fief of the Dukedom Stettin, until 1868. When he ceded that estate, the King created him a member of the Chamber for life.

In March, 1821, Bismarck was sent to the well-known school of Professor Plamann in Berlin, but the extreme severity of the treatment wounded the boy's tender nature. Although his brother Bernhard was in the same school, he grew terribly home-sick,

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and was frequently seen to shed tears. The boys passed from one school to another, but eventually they were taken into their father's house in Berlin where their education was confided to private tutors. One of his tutors, Director Bonnell, spoke approvingly of Otto, noting his quickness of apprehension, his powerful memory, and his great fondness for domestic life. It seems that Madame von Bismarck always indulged the aspiration that her son Otto would become a diplomatist. Her hopes were ultimately realized, but, alas! she had then passed away.

One of Bismarck's biographers, Hesekiel, furnishes this picture of the Chancellor in his youth :—

“As a boy and youth Bismarck was not usually very animated. There was rather a quiet and observant carriage in him, especially evinced by the ‘blank’ eyes, as they were once very aptly called by a lady ; these qualities were soon accompanied by determination and endurance in no insignificant degree. He was obliging and thoughtful in social intercourse, and soon acquired the reputation of being ‘good company,’ with having transgressed in the ways so common among social persons. He never allowed himself to be approached without politeness, and severely censured intruders. His mental qualifications very early showed themselves to be considerable. Memory and comprehensiveness aided him remarkably in his study of modern languages. He exhibited a love for ‘dumb’ animals even as a child ; he went to much expense in fine horses and dogs ; his magnificent Danish dog, so faithful

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to him, long continued a distinguished personage in the whole neighbourhood of Kniephof. Riding and hunting were his favourite pastimes. He has always been an intrepid and elegant horseman, without being exactly a 'riding-master.' To this he added the accomplishment of athletic sports. The gymnastic ground of the Plamann Institution had caused him to regard that branch of culture with profound dislike. As a boy and youth he had grown tall, but he was slim and thin; his frame did not develop itself laterally until a later time, his face was pale, but his health was always good, and he was, from his youth up, a hearty eater. A certain proportion of daring was to be noticed in his carriage, but expressed in a kindly way; his whole gait was frank and free, but with some reticence. Thus we do not find that he retained many friends of his boyhood and pupilage, a time usually so rife in friendships for most men. But such friendships as he did form continued for life."

Even before Bismarck went to the University he had fought a duel. "His opponent was a brave lad of the Hebrew persuasion, named Wolf. It is true he fought, but, like the ancient Parthians, he fought flying. The arrangements must have been somewhat unscientific, in fact quite out of form, for Bismarck was wounded in the leg, while he cut off his Jewish opponent's spectacles!"

Bismarck was very anxious to enter himself at the University of Heidelberg, which was noted for the freedom of its student life; but his mother

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had heard of its beer-drinking propensities, and would have none of it. He was accordingly sent to Göttingen, in 1832, but here he seems to have led a wild and stormy enough life for anything. He was a remarkable object, with his huge favourite dog. In three terms he fought more than twenty duels, and all with success. In one instance only was he wounded, and that was owing to the fracture of his adversary's sword-blade. The scar was ever afterwards to be seen on the Minister President's cheek. One Göttingen Professor declared that he had never seen Bismarck at his lectures. In the autumn of 1833 he went from Göttingen to Berlin, but here also he seems to have done little work. Twice only was he seen at the jurisprudence lectures, yet he managed to pass his examination at the appointed time. He had tremendous energy when he did buckle to work, and more, he was aided by his great gifts and wonderful memory.

After passing his legal examination at Easter, 1835, Bismarck was appointed Auscultator or Examiner to the Berlin City Police. Many characteristic anecdotes are related of him in this capacity, and one, whose authenticity is vouched for, may be given. The Auscultator was taking the protocol of a true Berliner, who finally so tried the patience of Bismarck by his impudence that he jumped up and exclaimed, "Sir, behave better, or I'll have you kicked out!" The magistrate present patted the zealous official in a friendly way upon the shoulder, and said quietly, "Herr Auscultator, the kicking out

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is *my* business." They proceeded in taking evidence, but very soon Bismarck again sprang to his feet, thundering out, "Sir, behave yourself better, or the magistrate shall kick you out!"

The young lawyer now began to mingle in the society of Berlin, and during the winter of 1835-36 he was introduced to the Court festivities, and took part in the usual amusements. It was at a Court ball that Bismarck first saw his future King and Kaiser. Prince William was much struck by two youths of lofty stature, who were introduced to him by the Master of the Ceremonies, and he pleasantly remarked, "Well, it seems that Justice nowadays recruits her youngsters in conformity to the Guards' standard!" The taller of the two was Bismarck.

In the year 1836 Referendarius von Bismarck left the Department of Justice for that of Administration. It was necessary for intending diplomatists to serve thus. He accordingly went to Aix-la-Chapelle, to the Crown Court. At first he was very industrious, but was soon carried away by the pleasures of society. Associating much with Englishmen, Belgians, and Frenchmen, he made several excursions in their company to the north of Europe and down the Rhine. After about a year at Aix, Bismarck transferred himself to the Crown Office at Potsdam, and in 1838 he entered the Jäger Guard, in order to fulfil his military duties. But during the same year he exchanged into the second battalion of Jäger, at Greifswald, hoping to attend the lectures of the Agricultural Academy of Eldena. He was obliged

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to resort to these studies owing to the impoverished condition of the paternal estates in Pomerania, which threatened total ruin. As the only way to save the estates, the father made over the management to his sons. In November, 1839, Madame Bismarck died. For two years Bismarck continued to administer the estates in conjunction with his brother. On the marriage of the latter, however, the estates were divided, Bernhard retaining Külz, and Otto receiving Kniephof and Jarchelin. Bismarck laboured energetically at all the pursuits of a country gentleman, and no one could complain of monotony while he was about. He was a great worker and a great drinker. But he became dissatisfied with a rural life. He liked to talk politics with the proprietors round him; but many stories were current about their alleged nocturnal carouses, at which none could equal "mad Bismarck" in emptying the great beaker filled with porter and champagne.

Later in life Bismarck deeply regretted the follies of his student life and early career. Writing to his wife, he said, "If only it would please God to fill up with clear strong wine the vessel in which at twenty-one the muddy champagne of youth frothed up to so little purpose! . . . How many of those with whom I flirted and drank and gambled are now underground! What changes my views of life have undergone in the fourteen years that have elapsed since that time, each in its turn seeming to me the correct one; how much that I then thought great now appears small; how much now seems honourable

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which I then despised! How much fresh foliage may still grow out of our inner man, giving shade, rustling in the wind, becoming worthless and faded, before another fourteen years are passed, before 1865, if we only live so long! I cannot imagine how a man who thinks at all about himself, and yet refuses to hear anything about God, can endure life without weariness and self-abhorrence. I can't think how I endured it formerly; if I had to live now as then, without God, without you, without children,—I don't know why I should not throw off this life like a dirty shirt; and yet most of my acquaintances are so, and live their life. . . .”

Bismarck's father died in 1845, and Otto now gave up the Jarchelin estate to his brother, and received instead that of Schönhausen, where he soon afterwards installed himself. About this time he was appointed Deichhauptmann—Overseer or Superintendent of Dikes—and he was elected Knight's Deputy for the circle of Jerichow in the Saxon Provincial Diet at Merseburg. In that capacity he attended the opening meeting of the United Diets in 1847, when he first attracted the attention of the general public. There was a struggle in the Assembly for a more liberal constitution than the King would grant, and the demand was based partly on the rising of the Prussian people, which had saved the throne and the country in 1813. During the debate, “a young champion with the King's colours,” sharp and decided in manner even at this his first appearance, stepped into the tribune and began to dispute the



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demands of the Liberals on the very ground of the events of 1813, "as if the movement of the people in 1813 could be attributed to any other cause, or needed any other motive than the disgrace of having strangers ruling in our country." When taunted with the fact that he was no judge, as he had not witnessed the movement of 1813, he replied, "Certainly I cannot affirm that I was living at that time, and I deeply regret that it was not given to me to take part in that movement. My regret, however, is diminished by the explanation which I have just received of its nature. I always believed that the bondage which produced the struggle came from without, but I have just been informed that it lay in the country itself, and for this explanation I am not at all grateful."

There was a pleasant interruption to his public duties when, on the 28th of July, 1847, Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen married Johanna Frederica Charlotte Dorothea Eleonore von Putkammer, who was the only daughter of Herr Henry Ernst Jacob von Putkammer, of Kartlum, and the Lady Luitgarde, born von Glasenapp of Reinfeld. The bride was nine years younger than her husband. Their married life proved to be extremely happy, and Bismarck was an affectionate and devoted husband. His home life was very dear to him, and in course of time it was enriched by three children—Marie, born in 1848; Herbert, born in 1849; and William, born in 1852. The Chancellor's letters to his wife and children bear testimony to his tenderness and affection for his

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family. No matter how closely he was engaged in affairs of diplomacy or the State, he found time to be with them, and to write to them constantly during periods of separation. His affection also for his sister Malwine was deep and true ; and it was he who gave her to her husband, and the friend of his own youth, the Landrath of Angermünde, Oscar von Arnim.

Many years afterwards, when his brother-in-law lost a child, Bismarck wrote to Arnim this letter, which shows how deeply those religious convictions which never changed had taken hold of the Chancellor :—

“ Such a blow is beyond the limits of human consolation, and yet it is a natural desire to be near those one loves when they are in trouble, and to mourn with them. It is the only thing we can do. A harder trial you could scarcely have had ; thus to lose so loveable and healthy a child, and with him to bury all the hopes which bade fair to be the joy of your old age ; such a sorrow will endure as long as you live. I feel this for you with deep and painful sympathy. We are in God’s powerful hand, without help or advice, unless He will help us Himself, and we can do nothing but resign ourselves in humility to His ordinances. He can take away from us all that He gave, leave us entirely solitary, and our grief would only be the more bitter the more we let it degenerate into rebellious resistance. Do not allow bitterness or murmuring to mingle with your rightful sorrow. How all the little cares and

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annoyances which are inseparable from our daily life disappear in the presence of real sorrow, and I feel like so many reproaches the recollections of all the complaints and vain longings in which I have indulged, forgetting how many blessings God gives us, and how many dangers surround without touching us. We must not cling to the world, nor make ourselves too much at home in it ; twenty or thirty years more at most, and we shall both be beyond the troubles of this life, and our children will have reached our present standpoint, and see with surprise that the life which they began so eagerly is already going downhill. If that were to be the end of it all, it would not be worth the dressing and undressing. Do you remember those words of our Stolpmünde travelling companion? But the thought that death is only the passage to another life will avail but little to soothe your grief, for you must feel that your beloved son would have been a faithful and loving companion to you during the time that you still remain on earth, and afterwards would have cultivated your memory so as to make it a blessing. The circle of those we love diminishes, and will not increase till we have grandchildren. At our age we do not make ties which can console us for those which cease to exist. Therefore let us hold together with all the stronger love, till we also are parted by death, as your son is parted from us now. Who knows how soon?

“Won’t you come to Stolpmünde with Malle, and spend a few quiet weeks or days with us? I send

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best love to my dearest Malle ; may God give her and you strength to endure, and patient resignation."

When Bismarck and his young wife went on their wedding tour through Switzerland and Italy, they accidentally met King Frederick William IV. at Venice. Bismarck was at once commanded to attend at the royal dinner-table, and his Sovereign conversed with him for a long time, particularly concerning German politics, a conversation not entirely without its influence on the subsequent sudden appointment of Bismarck to the post of Ambassador to the Federation. Further, the conversation unquestionably laid the foundation for the favour with which the King ever afterwards regarded Bismarck.

The estate of Schönhausen continued to be Bismarck's residence until he became Minister-President. Afterwards he preferred to live on his Pomeranian estate of Varzin, where he found three things for which he would seek in vain at Schönhausen, namely—the forest, the game, and the horse exercise. To the last he was a great horseman and a zealous sportsman.

At the opening of the second United Diet, Bismarck asserted that the greatest danger to the kingdom was no longer Liberalism, but Democracy, and against this he opposed a firm front. In 1849-51 he was regarded as one of the chief leaders of the Conservative party in the Diet. Alike at Berlin and Erfurt, he entered the breach in defence of the sovereignty of Prussia. Although he had formerly

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been a great admirer of Austria, he now became her opponent ; and in all his efforts there was always present the desire to elevate the House of Hohenzollern, at the expense and to the humiliation of the House of Hapsburg. In 1852 he was sent to Vienna, where he successfully exerted his influence in driving Austria away from junction with the Zollverein. Nothing had occurred since the peace of 1815 which so helped forward the unity of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia as this great commercial convention.

In the year 1853 Bismarck received many visits from the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, for whom he was engaged, at the instance of the King of Prussia, in obtaining a pecuniary settlement of the Duke's claims with Denmark. After much difficulty, Bismarck succeeded in obtaining from unwilling Denmark a handsome compensation, and this secured the Duke as a supporter of his general policy. Missions to Holland and Hanover followed, and in the autumn he had a pleasant vacation with his family in Switzerland, and also visited upper Italy. In 1854 he was frequently with the King, who daily grew more attached to him, and he accompanied his Sovereign to the island of Rügen, returning thence by Pomerania, Berlin, and Baden to his diplomatic duties at Frankfort. In 1855 he visited the Paris Exhibition, residing with the Prussian Ambassador, Count Hatzfeldt, by whom he was introduced to the Emperor of the French. Afterwards he visited the King and Queen of Prussia at Stolzenfels. The year

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1856 was a quiet one for Prussia, and Bismarck passed his summer at Stolpmünde. At the sittings of the Diet he was obliged to listen to many long-winded and wearisome efforts of oratory.

Bismarck was in Paris in the spring of 1857, and it was then that he had his first special political conference with Napoleon III. Little could either of them dream of the dramatic events which the next thirteen years were to bring forth. At this time Bismarck had become convinced that Prussia's position in the Zollverein had been mismanaged; and in a letter to an important personage, dated the 2nd of April, 1858, he thus unfolded some of his bold diplomatic ideas:—

“I quite agree with you that our position in the Zollverein is blundered. I go further than this, being fully convinced that we must give notice to the whole of the Zollverein, as soon as the term has arrived. The reasons for this conviction are far too stratified to be developed here, and they are too closely connected to be named one by one. We must terminate the treaty in view, and the danger of remaining alone with Dessau and Sondershausen. It is, however, not to be *desired* that this last should be the case, or that such a state of things should long subsist; therefore we must render it agreeable—if possible, an unavoidable necessity—to the other States of the Zollverein, during the period yet to run, that after proper notice has been given they should seek adherence to *our* conditions. One portion of this system would be to allow them to draw

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higher nett revenues than they could obtain by frontier customs without Prussia. Another thing is that they must not be allowed to think that the continuance of a Zollverein with Prussia is impossible, in fact ; this would, however, be the case if, besides the twenty-eight governments, some fifty class corporations, guided by particular interests, should be able to exercise a *liberum veto*. If the Prussian Chambers begin with this, the equality vertigo of the German Governments will not allow the rest to remain behind ; they will desire to make themselves also of importance. In order to avoid those rocks in a Zollverein to be reconstituted by Prussia, after 1865, for the exercise of corporation electoral rights, I think we shall have to adopt one feature of the union project of 1849, to erect a sort of Customs Parliament, with conditions for *itio in partes*, if the others demand it. The Governments will object gravely to such a course ; but if we are daring and consequent we could effect much. The idea expressed in your letter, to make the Prussian Chambers a means, by their representation of all German taxpayers, to found a hegemony, is from the same point of view. The most powerful aids of our foreign policy might consist in the Chambers and the Press."

In consequence of the illness of King Frederick William in 1858, Prince William was appointed Regent ; and the attitude of Prussia towards Austria now became more determined than ever. The Regent's own stand in the matter was such as Bismarck cordially approved. Austria was threatened



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by a war with Italy ; and the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen Ministry of the "new era" hoped to use this opportunity for getting Prussia out of the situation in which she had been placed by the Treaty of Olmütz. But the attitude of Bismarck as Ambassador at the Federal Diet was not agreeable to the Liberal Ministry. The friction was such that soon after his installation Bismarck was in uncertainty about his remaining. Writing to his sister on the 12th of November, 1858, he spoke of expecting his *congé*, and said :—

"I do not know if they will give it to me unasked, or if they will treat me in such a way that I shall be obliged to take my leave for the sake of decency. But before I do it voluntarily I shall wait to see the colour of the Ministry. If these gentlemen retain the sentiments of the Conservative party, and steadily set to work to promote peace and agreement in the interior, they may gain indisputable advantages in our external relations, which I consider very important ; for we have lost power, almost without being aware of it. I think that the Prince was put at the head with the express object of having some guarantee against party-government, and against any shifting to the Left. If I am mistaken, or if they want to dispose of me solely out of kindness to place hunters, I shall retire behind the cannons of Schönhäusen, and wait to see how they govern in Prussia when supported by a majority of the Left ; but I shall also strive to do my duty in the Upper House. . . . After thirty years it will be all the same to me

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whether I play the part of diplomatist or country squire."

The end was that Bismarck remained in the service of his country, and early in 1859 he was appointed to the Embassy at St. Petersburg. When the Italian war broke out, Prussia was urged to join in a Federal war on behalf of Austria, but she would not allow herself to be drawn into the undertaking. However, the continued defeats of Austria brought about a change of feeling. To succour her Federal allies, therefore, Prussia sent 250,000 men to the Rhine, demanding that the Confederation should place two army corps under her supreme command. Austria, alarmed at the powerful position thus taken up, "preferred to conclude peace with Napoleon to giving her rival the opportunity of developing her strength."

Bismarck was all for the aggrandizement of Prussia, and chafed under what he regarded as her inadequate and humiliating position in the Confederation. Writing to the Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 12th of May, 1859, he thus unfolded his views :—

"As the result of my experience in the eight years during which I held office in Frankfort, I have carried away the conviction that the present Confederation compact is oppressive to Prussia, and in critical times imposes perilous trammels on her, without assuring to her the same equivalent which Austria, with a far larger measure of individual free action, gains from it. The Princes and the

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Governments of the smaller States do not measure the two powers by the same standard ; the interpretation of the object and laws of the Confederation is modified by the requirements of Austrian policy. . . . We have always found ourselves opposed by the same compact majority, the same claims on Prussia's subservience. . . . The adherence of the smaller States to Austria is chiefly based on a false view of the interests of both, according to which they regard union against Prussia, and the restraint of all future developments of her influence and power, as the only sure foundations of their common policy. The natural aim of the policy of the German Princes and their Ministers was to complete the organization of the Confederation, with Austria at its head. Their views can only be carried out at the expense of Prussia, and are necessarily directed against her only so long as she will not confine herself to the useful task of acting as a security for the other Federal States against any undue encroachment on the part of Austria ; she is also expected to resign herself to the disproportion between her duties and rights, and to submit with untiring patience to the wishes of the majority. This tendency of the policy of the smaller States will return with the regularity of the compass-needle after every passing fluctuation, because it is not arbitrarily brought about by any particular circumstances or persons, but is the natural and necessary result of the relations between the Confederation and the smaller States. Within the Federal Convention, as it is at present, we have no

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means of coming to terms with that tendency in any permanent or satisfactory way."

Bismarck suffered at this time from great depression of spirits, partly owing to his inability to secure for Prussia the proud position to which he considered her entitled, and partly owing to ill health. In the autumn of 1859 he was obliged to resort to a cure at Hohendorf in Prussia. Vexation of mind and the Russian climate combined induced a bad attack of rheumatic, gastric, and nervous fever, and it was long before he recovered his old measure of health.

The meeting between the Prussian and Austrian Sovereigns at Teplitz, in July, 1860, was of profound interest to Bismarck; and he was considerably alarmed by the report of a Guarantee-Treaty between Austria and Prussia. "He feared that Austria, if Venice were guaranteed to her by Prussia, would bring on a war against France, so that, when attacked, Prussia might be obliged to defend her. Bismarck had not yet relinquished the belief that good relations might be established between Prussia and Austria by peaceable means. He would have been content to know that Prussia had given no definite promises at Teplitz, but had made its offers dependent on the maintenance by Austria of a favourable disposition towards Prussia on the field of German policy, and especially in a practical sense." This attitude caused many to stigmatize Bismarck as the enemy of the German cause, as a partisan of France, as a conspirator, and an ally of the other Continental States. They failed to see that his real object was to exalt

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Prussia at the expense of Austria, and that he was willing to cultivate the friendship of other Powers in furtherance of this object.

On the 23rd of May, 1862, Bismarck was appointed Ambassador in Paris, where he was favourably received. This was his last post before becoming Minister, which every one now regarded as his immediate future destiny. From Paris he took a short trip to the Exhibition in London, and while in the English capital he was introduced, amongst other personages, to Mr. Disraeli. The Tory statesman, however, regarded Bismarck's views upon the regeneration of Germany as the "mere moonshine of a German baron." Yet these views were eventually realized to the full, and there were few of Bismarck's contemporaries in 1862 who had the remotest idea of his resolute nature, and that indomitable will which, in militarism and politics, is the synonym for genius.

During the summer of 1862 Bismarck visited Trouville, and then journeyed to the south of France and across into Spain, by way of Bordeaux to Bayonne and San Sebastian. Subsequently he visited Biarritz, Luchon, and Toulouse, spending a delightful six weeks forgetful of the world.

In the middle of September, while revelling in the scenery of the Pyrenees, he received a telegram from King William summoning him to Berlin.

## CHAPTER II

### *EIGHT MEMORABLE YEARS*

BISMARCK arrived in Berlin on the 19th of September, 1862. It was soon known that the King had chosen him as his principal Minister, fully relying upon his devotion, energy, daring, and circumspection to carry on the business of the State, and to grapple with the Parliamentary difficulties which loomed upon the horizon. On the 8th of October he was formally appointed President of the Ministry and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"Who in Heaven's name is Herr von Bismarck, that he should be placed in such a high station?" was the question which people in Prussia began to ask. The reply of the Liberal press was, "*Bismarck — c'est le coup d'état,*" and he was greeted with a storm of abuse, receiving such epithets as "a swaggering Junker," "a hollow braggart," "a Napoleon-worshipper," and "a town uprooter." Junkers was the term applied to the reactionary Conservative landed gentry, who were the deadly enemies of reform.

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Bismarck's theory of Government, asserted again and again, was "that all Constitutional life is a series of compromises." Yet his arbitrary action was frequently in contradiction to this. He speedily put himself in evidence as Minister, and the King, knowing his man, smiled over his great unpopularity. The King had complete confidence in his new President, and it is said that when a Russian Princess complimented the King upon an improvement in his looks, he pointed to Bismarck, and said, "*Voilà mon médecin*"—"there is my physician."

It was not long before Bismarck's fiery energy and eloquence began to be experienced in debate. He was prepared for the strongest measures if necessary. Speaking in the Budget Committee only a few days after his accession to office, he said, "It is not by speechifying and majorities that the great questions of the time will have to be decided—that was the mistake made in 1848 and 1849—but by *blood and iron*." This celebrated phrase represented the policy upon which the Minister intended to proceed, both in the treatment of Constitutional questions and in the unification of Germany. The circumstances which followed his accession to power led to a comparison between "demented Bismarck and his ditto King, and Strafford and Charles I. *versus* our Long Parliament." But Carlyle pointed out that the issues between King William and his Diet were very different; they were "as like as Monmouth to Macedon, and no liker." It is impossible to institute a just comparison between



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Parliamentary life in England and that in the less free States of the Continent.

“Bismarck,” observes his biographer, Mr. Lowe, “had the conviction of a Luther, and, like a Luther, nothing could daunt or shake him.” But there is an immense difference between a Luther strongly denouncing the crying evils of a corrupt Church, and a Bismarck riding rough-shod over the representatives of the Prussian people. “In the Chamber debates Bismarck was contemptuous, but never angry, cutting and sarcastic without being coarse, and his social accomplishments gave him a great advantage over his opponents, in whom over-education contrasted strongly with under-breeding. He was as cool under Parliamentary fire as the Duke of Wellington ever was under a hail of bullets; and when the doctrinaires and the professors, who were the curse of the Chamber, were thundering against him about tyranny, revolution, impeachment, and all the rest of it, he would calmly sit down before them to write a chatty letter to his wife, or to thank his sister for a present of sausages and black puddings.” That is one view; but candour compels us to give the other side, and to add that the Ministers of whom Bismarck was chief were more tyrannical in spirit, and paid less regard to the authority of the Speaker, than any other members of the Prussian Diet.

When at the end of September the Chamber passed a vote adverse to the Government, Bismarck informed the Deputies that as the charges for re-organizing the army, included by Government in the

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Budget for 1862, had been rejected, the Ministry must presume that the House would adopt a similar course with regard to the new items in the Budget for 1863. The King therefore had authorized him to withdraw the Budget for 1863 ; but it would be laid before the House in the following session, "with a bill supporting as a vital condition the reorganization of the army." At the instigation of Ministers, a vote was procured in the Upper Chamber annulling the proceedings of the Deputies. This the Lower House resented, and the session was closed by a message from the King. Bismarck read the message, which stated, without any circumlocution, that "the Budget for the year 1862, as decreed by the Lower Chamber, having been rejected by the Upper Chamber on the ground of insufficiency, the Government of his Majesty is under the necessity of carrying out the Budget as it was originally laid before the Lower House, without taking cognizance of the conditions prescribed by the Constitution."

This arbitrary act dismayed the Deputies, for the King's tyrannical action was equivalent to saying that taxes would be levied, and the Government carried on, independently of Parliament. And for the remainder of the year this was the actual state of things. The Constitutional struggle was renewed in 1863, and there were violent scenes in the Chamber, in which Bismarck himself was conspicuous. Instead of making concessions, the Deputies, by a large majority, carried an Address to the King, in which they severely commented upon the unconstitutional

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mode in which the Government was conducted. The King scolded the Deputies in reply, while the Bismarck Ministry proceeded to further high-handed measures. On the 1st of June a Royal decree was issued, authorizing the suppression of newspapers "which persistently exhibited tendencies dangerous to the welfare of the State"—thus striking at the Liberal press—and the exclusion altogether of foreign journals for the same cause. This reactionary policy led to a strong remonstrance on the part of the Crown Prince Frederick William, who was for a time estranged from his Royal father.

The period of antagonism between Ministry and Parliament continued for several years, but the Minister-President managed at times to procure a cessation of the conflict by his policy in foreign affairs. His primary object was to end the dual headship of Germany by the expulsion of Austria, and to this he bent all his energies. Recognizing the necessity of Russian benevolent neutrality for his purpose, he lent his direct assistance to the suppression of the Polish insurrection of 1863. But his policy in this matter was attacked again and again in the Chamber of Deputies.

Early in 1864 the Schleswig-Holstein question suddenly entered upon an acute phase. This was the first great opportunity which Bismarck had of showing his mastery in European diplomacy. He made use of the imbroglio as the first step in the realization of still greater plans. Declining to look upon the Danish question in its relations to the

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Federal Diet and the German nation, he approached it rather from its European and International side. For the moment he banished the Federal question, and united the two great Powers, Austria and Prussia, in a military and diplomatic campaign. It was a clever stroke of policy, and one which surprised the world, to induce the leading German Powers thus to coalesce. Some Austrian statesmen distrusted Bismarck and the whole manœuvre, but the Emperor Francis Joseph had up to this time cherished an idea that the Conservative policy of Bismarck was not unlikely in some way to exert a favourable influence for Austria. Indeed, on one occasion Francis Joseph involuntarily exclaimed, when Bismarck was severely blamed in his presence, "Ah, if I but had him!" In a very short time the Emperor was destined to lament that such a man had ever been born.

The Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were occupied by the Swedes in 1813, but restored to Denmark in 1814; and on the 28th of May, 1831, constituent assemblies were granted to them. From 1844, however, disputes became rife between the Duchies and Denmark, and in 1848 the States-General of the Duchies voted their annexation to the German Confederacy, in which they were supported by Prussia. War ensued, which lasted till 1850, when they submitted to Denmark. The agitation in the Duchies, encouraged by Prussia, revived in 1857. The Germans in Schleswig desired it to be made a member of the German Confederation, like Holstein; but both

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Duchies demanded a local government more independent of Denmark, which changes were resisted by that Power. In March, 1863, Denmark granted independent rights to Holstein, but annexed Schleswig, against which Austria and Prussia protested. The German Diet demanded the annulment of the Act, and threatened an army of occupation. The Danish King Frederick VII. died in November, and Christian IX. ascended the throne. Prince Frederick of Augustenburg now formally claimed the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and, as he was supported by the German Diet, war ensued. The King of Denmark was bitterly disappointed in not securing the expected aid of England, or some other Power. The campaign which ensued was brief, and Austria and Prussia triumphed over Denmark. By the Convention signed at Gastein on the 14th of August, 1865, the Government of Holstein was surrendered to Austria, and that of Schleswig to Prussia.

Upon the conclusion of the Gastein Convention, Bismarck accompanied his King to Vienna, at the special invitation of the Emperor of Austria. During this visit Francis Joseph conferred upon him the Exalted Order of St. Stephen. The King of Prussia had already invested his Minister-President with the highest mark of honour Prussia can bestow—the Order of the Black Eagle. The King also further distinguished him by raising him to the rank and dignity of a Count.

Yet all through this anxious period of 1864-65, Bismarck had little comfort or rest. "It is a life like

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Leporello's," he said ; "no peace by day or night, nothing to give me any pleasure." Though famous, he was still very unpopular. While in Vienna in July, 1864, he declared that in the Volksgarten people stared at him "as if he were a new hippopotamus for the Zoological Gardens." Again he writes : "This sort of life is very unpleasant, when all one wants is to be allowed to drink one's beer in peace." On a journey to Paris and Biarritz in October, 1864, he wrote to his wife : "In Paris I felt a longing to be living there again. . . . The life that I lead in Berlin seems to me like the life of a convict, when I compare it to my independent existence in foreign countries." The inexorable burden of affairs sometimes made even Bismarck's elasticity ready to give way. Writing from Carlsbad in July, 1865, he said : "There are so many *musts* in my life, that I seldom am able to do what I want. The mill goes round day by day, and I seem to myself like the jaded horse who drags it round and round without advancing a step. . . . I feel old and dried up."

It was not to be expected that a man like Bismarck would escape criticism by private persons. Accordingly, we find that a pious friend, who had seen a photograph taken at Gastein, which showed the Count sitting by the side of the great singer, Pauline Lucca, wrote him an anxious epistle as to the state of his soul. To this communication Bismarck responded in the following very remarkable letter, dated Berlin, December 26th, 1865 :—

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“Although my time is very much taken up, I cannot refrain from replying to an interpellation made by an honest heart in the name of Christ. I am very sorry if I offend believing Christians, but I am certain that this is unavoidable for me in my vocation. I will not say that in the camps politically opposed to me there are doubtless numerous Christians far in advance of me in the way of grace, and with whom, by reason of what is terrestrial to us in communion, I am obliged to live at war; I will only refer to what you yourself say :—

‘In wider circles nought of deed or idleness remains concealed.’

What man breathes who in such a position must not give offence, justly or unjustly? I will even admit more, for your expression as to concealment is not accurate. I would to God that, besides what is known to the world, I had not other sins upon my soul, for which I can only hope for forgiveness in a confidence upon the blood of Christ! As a statesman, I am not sufficiently disinterested; in my own mind I am rather cowardly, and that because it is not easy always to get that clearness on the questions coming before me, which grows upon the soil of divine confidence. Whoever calls me an unconscientious politician, does me injustice; he should try his own conscience first himself upon this arena. As to the Virchow business, I am beyond the years in which any one takes counsel in such matters from flesh and blood; if I set my life on



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any matter, I do it in the same faith in which I have, by long and severe strife, but in honest and humble prayer to God, strengthened myself, and in which no human words, even if spoken by a friend in the Lord and a servant of His Church, can alter me. As to attendance at church, it is untrue that I never visit the house of God. For seven months I have been either absent or ill ; who, therefore, can have observed me? I admit freely that it might take place more frequently, but it is not owing so much to want of time, as from a care for my health, especially in winter ; and to those who feel themselves justified to be my judges in this, I will render an account—they will believe, even without medical details. As to the Lucca photograph, you would probably be less severe in your censure if you knew to what accident it owes its existence. The present Frau von Radden (Mdlle. Lucca), although a singer, is a lady of whom, as much as myself, there has never been any reason to say at any time such unpermitted things. Notwithstanding this, I should, had I in a quiet moment thought of the offence which this joke has given to many and faithful friends, have withdrawn myself from the field of the glass pointed at us. You perceive, from the detailed manner in which I reply to you, that I regard your letter as well-intentioned, and by no means place myself above the judgment of those with whom I share a common faith. But, from your friendship and your own Christian feeling, I anticipate that you will recommend to my judges prudence and

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clemency in similar matters for the future—of this we all stand in need. If among the multitude of sinners who are in need of the glory of God, I hope that His grace will not deprive me of the staff of humble faith in the midst of the dangers and doubts of my calling by which I endeavour to find out my path. This confidence shall neither find me deaf to censorious words of friendly reproof, nor angry with loveless and proud criticism.”

Though Bismarck could conquer the Danes, he still could not conquer his own Parliament. The first session of the Diet after the Danish war was one prolonged scene of wrangle, recrimination, and combat. The Chamber rejected the new military law, which had already had such good results; and it refused the requests of the Government for ten million thalers to build a fleet, although the nation had now acquired the splendid harbour of Kiel to shelter one. While Parliament acknowledged the necessity of creating a navy, it would not give a Bismarck Ministry money to make it with. The Minister-President was angry, but taking the matter as quietly as he could, he assured the Deputies that as Alsen and Düppel had been conquered in spite of them, so Prussia would yet get a fleet for all their “impotent negation.”

On the 7th of May, 1866, an incident occurred which showed how deep was the hostility of certain sections of the population to Bismarck. He was walking abroad for the first time after his severe illness, and, returning from an interview with the

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King, was proceeding up the centre alley of the Unter den Linden to his residence in the Wilhelm Strasse. When almost opposite the Russian Embassy, he was startled by two shots close beside him, and, turning round, he beheld a young man, who was coolly raising a six-chambered revolver to fire a third time. To grasp the wrist of the assassin with one hand and his throat with the other was, with the intended victim, the work of a moment. But the assailant, wrestling desperately, managed to fire off three of his other bullets—two of which actually grazed the Minister's breast and shoulder. Recovering in a moment his presence of mind, and collecting his enormous strength, Bismarck closed with his would-be murderer, and held him as in a vice. A company of the Guards chanced to be marching down the Linden; and handing over the assassin to the care of the soldiers, who led him off to gaol, Bismarck continued his way home. He told his friends afterwards that the incident had been complicated by the passers-by at first taking him for the murderer, as it was natural for them, in the confusion of the moment, to infer that the criminal was the big, aggressive-looking man with a smoking revolver in his hand—for he had wrenched it from his assailant—and not the smooth-faced youth struggling in his iron grasp. On reaching home, Bismarck wrote a brief account of the incident to the King, and then, entering the drawing-room, greeted the several guests assembled for dinner as if nothing had happened. "I have been shot at, my child," he whispered to his wife;

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“but never mind, there is no harm done. Let us now go in to dinner.” The family doctor, nevertheless, declared that the Minister had been saved only by a miracle, and great was the joy of his friends. The King came personally to offer his congratulations, and was followed by other distinguished personages; while a serenading multitude gathered in the street, and an exciting day closed with a speech of thanks which Bismarck delivered from the balcony of his house.

The misguided youth who had made the attempt on the Minister's life proved to be a young man named Ferdinand Cohen—a stepson of Karl Blind, a democratic fugitive from Baden living in London, whose name also he had adopted. He had received a good education, and had studied agriculture both in theory and practice; but he came under the influence of republican doctrinaires, and conceived that he had a mission to rid the nation of a man who was almost universally denounced as the oppressor of Prussian liberties, and the disturber of German peace. Unable to face the ordeal of a public trial, Cohen committed suicide in his cell on the night of his arrest.

Neither this incident nor any other kept Bismarck from his diplomatic labours, which had assumed already an arduous and anxious character through the policy of Austria. Each Power felt that the time was rapidly approaching for the death struggle between them—a struggle that was to decide the headship of Germany. “Do you mean to break the

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Convention of Gastein?" Count Karolyi, the Austrian Minister, demanded at length of the Prussian Minister-President. "No," frankly replied Bismarck; "but even if I did, do you suppose I should tell you?" Yet both were seeking their own ends, and Austria was endeavouring to secure her supremacy in the Germanic Confederation by the aid of the smaller States. In April it had seemed possible for peace to be maintained, as both Austria and Prussia agreed on disarming. But the agreement fell through on the refusal of Austria to suspend preparations against Italy, and to carry out the understanding with Prussia as to Holstein. At last, on June 14th, the Federal Council—persuaded thereto by Austria—declared war against Prussia by a majority of nine votes to six. Among the States which supported Austria were Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse. Within the next few days these three States were overrun and disarmed by Prussia. Owing to the activity and the brilliant plans of the great Von Moltke and the Prussian War Minister, Von Roon, before the end of June the Prussian armies had crossed into Bohemia; and on the 3rd of July the Austrians were defeated in one of the great decisive battles of the world—that of Sadowa or Königgrätz.

"The battle began at eight o'clock in the morning," observes Mr. Lowe, "and at that hour the King, with Bismarck and his Staff, appeared among his troops, and was received with ringing, thrilling, never-ending cheers. For hours the rain fell and the cannon roared, the country for miles across was

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enveloped in the sulphurous and suffocating pall of volumed battle-smoke, and the needle-gun wrought fearful havoc among the devoted battalions of Austria ; but still they kept their ground, and put the stubborn valour and discipline of their foes to the severest test. The scales of battle hung pretty evenly, albeit Herwarth von Bittenfeld had already begun to hammer with might and main on the Austrian left. But the Austrian right, the right—that was where the Prussians looked for the coming of the Crown Prince as anxiously, as yearningly as Wellington had longed for the arrival of Blücher from the same direction. ‘Would to God the Crown Prince or darkness would come!’ Moltke was almost beginning to think, when suddenly Bismarck lowered his glass, and drew the attention of his neighbours to certain lines in the far distance. All telescopes were pointed thither, but the lines were pronounced to be furrows. ‘These are not furrows,’ said Bismarck, after another scrutinizing look ; ‘the spaces are not equal ; they are advancing lines.’ And so they were ; and soon thereafter the cannon-thunder of ‘Unser Fritz,’ with the irresistible rush of the Guards up the heights of Chlum and Rosberitz brought relief and joy to the minds of all. Violently assailed on both flanks and fiercely pressed in the centre, the Austrians now began to slacken their fire, to waver, to give way, to retreat ; and soon their flight degenerated into headlong rout. Perceiving his opportunity, the King led forward in person the whole cavalry reserve of the First Army, which charged and ‘completely

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overthrew' a similar force of the foe, and then the bloody and momentous battle was won. After the battle, which lasted eight hours, the King with his Staff rode round the widely-scattered positions of his troops, and Bismarck witnessed the touching incidents which everywhere marked his progress; how battalion after battalion—some of them mere shadows of their former selves—burst into frenzied cheering, and rushed forward—officers and men—to kiss his hand, the boot, the stirrup, of their beloved leader; and how, late in the evening, the drama of the day was closed by the affecting meeting of the aged King and his heroic son—a meeting which has become as historical as that of Blücher and Wellington. But Bismarck confessed that his exultation at the stupendous victory was utterly marred by the horrible spectacle of the dead, the dying, and the wounded—about 32,000 in number—who heaped the bloody plain.

"It was only next day that the results of the battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, as the Austrians more properly call it, became fully apparent; a battle which, in point of the numbers—430,000 men—who took part in it, ranked after the *Volkerschlacht* of Leipzig. By superior arms, superior numbers, superior discipline, and superior strategy, Prussia, at the cost of 10,000 of her sons, had won a crowning victory over her rival, who lost 40,000 men (including 18,000 prisoners), 11 standards, and 174 guns. 'I have lost all,' exclaimed Benedek, 'except, alas, my life.' It was little wonder that, on the morrow of



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Königgrätz, the *Moniteur* announced to the French nation that 'an important event has happened.' 'One single encounter,' Bismarck had said, 'one decisive battle, and Prussia will have it in her power to dictate conditions.'"

After Sadowa the resistance of Austria was practically over; but all Bismarck's diplomatic skill was required to prevent the fruits of victory being snatched from his grasp by the Emperor Napoleon. Prolonged conferences took place at Nikolsburg, but it was at Prague that the Treaty of peace was finally concluded in August. By this Treaty the German Bund was dissolved, and a North German Confederation, under the presidency of Prussia, was erected. Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, and a large part of Saxony were annexed to Prussia. The supremacy of Austria in Germany was destroyed, and that of Prussia established. The result of this triumph was to make Bismarck the most popular man in Prussia, after the King, with the great bulk of the population. At this time he suffered great pain from rheumatism and general weakness, but by the 20th of September he had recovered sufficiently to assume the place of honour, which was his due, in the triumphal entry of the troops into Berlin, as Major-General and Chief of the Seventh Heavy Landwehr Regiment of Horse, to which the King had appointed him.

On the 14th of July, 1867, Bismarck was appointed Chancellor of the North German Confederation, and on the 15th of August he opened the session of the Council of the Federation at Berlin. On the 15th

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of November the Diet was opened, and on the 29th of February, 1868, it was closed. On the 23rd of March the Reichstag of the North German Confederation was opened, and to this the Customs Parliament was added. All this will give some idea of the gigantic burden which fell upon the shoulders of the Minister-President, and there can be little surprise that at last his strength gave way altogether. In the June of 1868 he was taken seriously ill, but it was only at the end of the month that he could go to Varzin for rest. Here he remained in complete retirement for a time, but unfortunately, on the 21st of August, he had a dangerous fall from his horse. He had many weeks of fearful pain to bear, and lay prostrate part of the time in a dangerous state. By December, however, he had in a large measure recovered his usual health.

He was able to proceed to Ahrensburg, in Holstein, where he hunted for two days with Count Shimmelmann, and a brilliant torchlight procession was formed in his honour. This was on the 13th of December, where, shortly before the Count's departure, a long train of several hundred people, young and old, with two hundred flaming pitch torches, appeared in the Castle yard, preceded by a band, and followed by sixty mounted yeomanry. After the leader of the procession had announced that they had come to pay their respects to the Minister-President, Bismarck appeared at the window, and spoke to the following effect :—

“I am rejoiced that you thus salute me as a

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fellow countryman, and I thank you for the honour you do me. I see in it a proof that the feeling of solidarity has also grown stronger and stronger with you ; and of this I shall joyfully inform the King. We have always belonged to each other as Germans—we have ever been brothers—but we were unconscious of it. In this country, too, there were different races : Schleswigers, Holsteiners, and Lauenburgers ; as, also, Mecklenburgers, Hanoverians, Lübeckers, and Hamburgers exist, *and they are all free to remain what they are*, in the knowledge that *they are Germans*—that they are brothers. And here in the north we should be doubly aware of it, with our Platt Deutsch language, which stretches from Holland to the Polish frontier ; we were also conscious of it, but have not proclaimed it until now. But that we have again so joyfully and vividly been able to recognize our German descent and solidarity—for that we must thank the man whose wisdom and energy have rendered this consciousness a truth and a fact, in bringing our King and Lord a hearty cheer. Long live his Majesty, our most gracious King and Sovereign, William the First ! ”

Under the Constitution of the North German Confederation, the twenty-two States north of the Main formed themselves into “a perpetual league, for the protection of the Union and its institutions, as well as for promoting the welfare of the German people.” Legislative power was to be vested in two bodies—the Reichstag, representing the people, and the Bundesrath, composed of delegates from the

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allied Governments—the perpetual presidency of the latter body being vested in the King of Prussia. As one of Bismarck's biographers points out, so far this was a legislature of the bicameral kind ; but the Bundesrath, or Federal Council, also comprised the functions of what, in England, would be those of the House of Lords and of the Crown ; and in its name all executive power was vested in the King of Prussia, who, acting under its authority, was to have supreme command of the army, declare war and conclude peace, appoint ambassadors, and conduct negotiations with foreign Powers. The cost of administration was to be contributed by the various States in proportion to their population, on whom was likewise placed the additional burden of universal liability to military service—all the Federal forces being reorganized on the Prussian model, and the strength of the standing army (on a peace footing) fixed at one per cent. of all the inhabitants. While foreign affairs, and all other matters of common interest, naturally fell within the exclusive competency of the new Federal Diet and Government, full legislative and administrative liberty was left to the individual States—as in the North American Union. The passing of a law requiring a majority in both bodies, it followed that considerable power, though chiefly of a negative and consultative kind, had thus been accorded to the German people as the result and reward of their services and sacrifices in the national cause ; but the balance of legislative authority still lay with the Federal Council, and more than a

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third of the authority of this body itself was in the hands of the King of Prussia.

The Federal Charter was keenly discussed, and some modifications were made in it before it was finally accepted by the majority. The Polish and Danish Deputies protested against incorporation, but their protests were overruled; but other points were discussed with a tenacity and obstinacy which made Bismarck feel, he said, like Harry Hotspur, when, "breathless and faint" after the battle, he was "pestered with a popinjay" of a hair-splitting and circumstantial lord. It was incomprehensible, he considered, that the Parliamentary doctrinaires should raise such a dust about non-essential matters, under the blinding clouds of which the nation might again lose its way, and miss its goal. He had exhorted the Assembly to do its work quickly. "Only let us lift Germany into the saddle, so to speak," he said, "and she will ride of herself."

As the provisional Treaty of Federal Alliance had only been concluded till August, 1867, it was a matter of the utmost importance that before the expiration of that time the Constitution should be approved by the Reichstag and sanctioned by each of the local Diets. Accordingly, on the 17th of April, the Constitution of the North German Confederation was carried through and adopted by a large majority, and Bismarck was appointed Chancellor of the Confederation. In closing the Constituent Reichstag, King William said: "The time has now come when our German Fatherland is able to stand up for its

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peace, its rights, and its dignity with its united strength."

In 1867 a very grave international question arose, which spread disquietude throughout almost the whole of Europe. This was known as the Luxemburg question. France was terribly chagrined by the long course of aggrandizement which had marked the fortunes of Prussia, and Napoleon had for some time been looking for a means of enriching France, and thus strengthening his own position with the people. He at last believed he had found this set-off in proposals for the cession of the Duchy of Luxemburg, with its strong fortress, to France. The Emperor considered that it would be a great thing if he could secure this formidable barrier on his north-eastern frontier. Luxemburg belonged to the King of Holland as Grand Duke, and it formed part of the German Federation which was broken up by the Prusso-Austrian war of 1866. The territory was guaranteed to the King of Holland in April, 1839, by a treaty concluded between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and the King of Holland as Grand Duke. The city of Luxemburg, as part of the German Confederation, had been garrisoned for some time past by Prussian troops; and the view now taken by Louis Napoleon was that the fortress would no longer be a merely defensive position for Germany, but, garrisoned as it was by Prussians, it would occupy an offensive position towards France. The subject gave rise to many debates both in the French and North German Chambers. Count

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Bismarck, being questioned in the North German Parliament towards the close of March, said that it was necessary for Germany to take into account the just susceptibilities of France. Admitting that Luxemburg was an independent State, which the King of Holland could dispose of as he liked, and admitting also that the inhabitants of the duchy experienced a strong repugnance to being incorporated with Germany, he insisted upon the influence which the desire of maintaining pacific and friendly relations with its powerful neighbour must exercise upon the Duchy.

The Emperor of the French had been greatly surprised by the publication of the secret treaties of alliance concluded in the preceding year between Prussia and the Southern States, and he now felt it high time to make a counter-move. This move was the taking over of Luxemburg by arrangement with the King of Holland. At first Bismarck inclined to favour the scheme, but it was only a diplomatic ruse to lead the French on; and when the question was discussed in the German Parliament, it led to a great explosion of patriotic wrath. "Let France pause and consider her course before she acts," exclaimed Herr Bennigsen. "Germany seeks no war; but if France will not allow us to become a united country, we are ready to give her the most indubitable proof that the time of our domestic division is past, and that her attempts will be henceforth resisted by the entire nation."

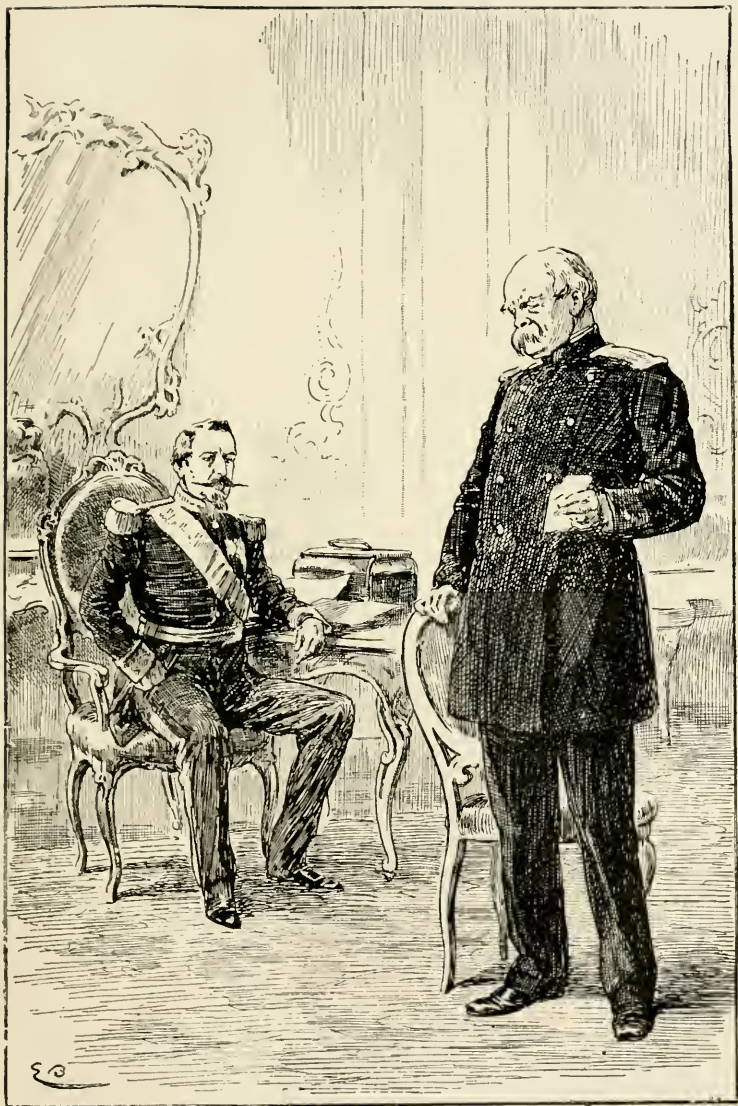
In reply to an interpellation on the Luxemburg



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question, in the Prussian Chambers on the 1st of April, Bismarck briefly recounted the course of the diplomatic negotiations. The Prussian Government, he observed, did not adopt the opinion that an arrangement had been entered into between Holland and France; but it could not, on the other hand, assert that the contrary was the case. When asked by the King of Holland what course Prussia would adopt, in case his Majesty should in any way cede his rights over the Duchy, King William had declared that he would leave the responsibility of such a step to the King of Holland. Prussia would simply assure herself of the views entertained by the Powers which signed with her the Treaty of 1839, and by her Federal allies, as well as of the state of public opinion as represented by the North German Parliament. An offer on the part of Holland of her good offices to further negotiations between France and Prussia had been declined.

The firm attitude of Prussia caused France to modify her policy. She now let it be known that she had always considered the matter from three points of view—namely, as connected with the free consent of Holland, the loyal examination of the Treaties by the Great Powers, and the consultation of the wishes of the inhabitants by means of universal suffrage. This backing down of the French Government was interpreted to mean that France was not yet prepared for war. It was now agreed to hold a Conference in London for the settlement of the Luxemburg question. The Conference met on the



MEETING OF BISMARCK AND NAPOLEON III.

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7th of May, when there were present representatives of the following Powers—England, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Holland, Italy, and Belgium. A Treaty was concluded on the 11th, by which Prussia agreed to withdraw her garrison from Luxemburg, and to dismantle the fortress; while the Powers guaranteed the complete neutrality of the Grand Duchy under the crown of Holland. In consideration of the loss sustained by Germany as the result of the neutralization, it was agreed that Luxemburg should continue to be a member of the Zollverein. Five years later the German Government acquired by Treaty the administration of all the railways in the Grand Duchy. France was relieved from the dangers attending a strong fortress upon her borders, and although Napoleon had not succeeded in acquiring the Duchy itself, it was certainly something to have effected its complete neutralization.

To show how completely the clouds had blown over, the King of Prussia visited Paris in June, the occasion being the great International Exhibition. His Majesty was accompanied by Counts Bismarck and Moltke. The Emperor of Russia also visited the French capital, where an attempt was made to assassinate him in the Bois de Boulogne, by a young Pole named Berezowski. Happily the attempt failed.

But Napoleon was not long in manifesting restlessness over the efforts to secure a closer union between the North and South German States. He could do nothing against this, however, but he sought instead to make difficulties respecting Schleswig.

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Prompted by France, the Danish Cabinet asked the Berlin Government whether, in accordance with the Treaty of Prague, a *plébiscite* would now be taken in North Schleswig, to determine its cession to Denmark or otherwise. In reply, Bismarck pointed out that, before discussing the subject, Denmark must give Prussia guarantees for the protection of the German element in the ceded population, and agree to take over a proportionate share of the public debt of the Duchies. Denmark did not see her way to this, and declined to push the matter further, so that Napoleon was again foiled in his diplomatic efforts to embroil Prussia with other States.

Much ill-feeling was created in Berlin by the meeting of the French and Austrian Emperors at Salzburg in August. Napoleon caused it to be understood that his object was simply to pay a visit of condolence to the Emperor Francis Joseph, in consequence of the terribly tragic death of his brother Maximilian in Mexico ; but Bismarck believed that there were other reasons besides this for the Imperial meeting. He despatched a circular to the diplomatic agents of Prussia abroad, whose tone was severely commented upon by the French press, and denounced as menacing and unfriendly towards France. The writer stated that the Prussian Government rejoiced that the domestic affairs of Germany had not been the object of political conversation at Salzburg. The aim of Germany had always been to direct the stream of national development so as to fertilize and not destroy. They had avoided everything calculated

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to precipitate the national movement; had endeavoured not to irritate, but to calm and quiet. It was therefore to be hoped that their efforts in this direction would be successful, if foreign Powers were as careful to avoid all which might lead the Germans to apprehend plans of possible foreign interference, and which in consequence might arouse in them a sense of violated dignity and independence.

France was greatly annoyed by the references to possible foreign interference, but she refrained from protesting, as the time was not yet ripe for a French march upon the Rhine.

In the spring of 1868 the Customs Parliament met at Berlin—as the first representative body of the entire nation convened since the downfall of the Germanic Empire. “Apart from the gigantic labour of consolidating the Confederation,” Mr. Lowe observes, “and of settling its foreign relations, Bismarck had more than enough to do with the equally difficult work of fitting the annexed Provinces into the complicated yet stable organism of the Prussian State. The real task of the conqueror begins when he sets himself to reconcile the vanquished to their yoke; and with respect to Hanover, at least, this was arduous enough. The chief recusant, naturally enough, was King George himself. A fugitive from his dominions, the royal Guelph had sought shelter at Hietzing, near Vienna, where he established a sort of Court, and continued to intrigue against Prussia much in the same way as English James conspired against Dutch William in his exile at



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Saint Germain's. His schemes of active hostility against Prussia, hatched under the favouring shadow of the Hofburg, were not unknown to Bismarck ; and yet Bismarck ventured to brave the displeasure of his own countrymen by supporting King William in his desire to pension the Sovereigns whom he had evicted, but would not entirely beggar. By way, therefore, of compensating the deposed monarchs for the loss of their crowns, handsome allowances were made them out of their confiscated revenues. But when the Chamber was asked to sanction the Treaties under which these indemnities had to be paid, it displayed an opposition in the case of King George, which Bismarck could only overcome by a threat to resign. The country could not see the wisdom of the generosity which conferred on the dethroned Monarch an income equal to twice the amount of his previous civil list, thus supplying him with the sinews of secret war against Prussia, and Bismarck soon had cause to regret his own royal master's generosity. Instead of reconciling him to his fate, the compensation he had received from Prussia only seemed to add fuel to the flames of the deposed King's fury. Austria, who harboured this conspirator against Prussia, and France, who tolerated the presence of his legion, might be remonstrated with. But there was only one means, thought Bismarck, of coping with this still belligerent King without a crown, and that was by cutting off his supplies.

“ Having captured the enemy's guns, he was quick



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to turn them against their owners, by converting the interest accruing on the impounded revenues of the dethroned monarchs into a secret service fund to be applied in watching and frustrating their anti-Prussian activity. It was during the debate on this subject that the Chancellor used an expression which has now become historical. 'There is nothing of the spy in my whole nature,' he said; 'but I think we shall deserve your thanks if we devote ourselves to the pursuit of wicked *reptiles* into their very holes in order to see what they are about.' Hence the expression, 'Reptile Fund,' as applied to the means employed by the Prussian Government to combat the opposition of the Guelphs. Gradually that opposition was broken, but the weapon which broke it was not given up. It continued, indeed, to be wielded by the Government against all who resisted it in the field of domestic and even foreign politics. But whereas the term 'Reptile' was at first applied to an anti-Prussian scribe, it afterwards came to be reproachfully used by the opposition of all newspapers and writers subsidized to support the Government itself through thick and thin."

Great were the Parliamentary difficulties which Bismarck had to encounter; for while on the one hand he called for sacrifices on the part of Prussia to the general good which old Conservatives like Manteuffel were not prepared to make, on the other there was a party in the Reichstag which deemed the Minister's pace to be intolerably slow. However, the labours of three years in the Reichstag produced an imposing

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structure of national unity. A large variety of laws were passed, all tending to weld together the tribes and races of the North into one homogeneous nation, with common interests, a common army, a common polity, and a high and recognized place in the European family of States.

On the 1st of January, 1870, Bismarck became Foreign Minister, no longer of Prussia solely, but of the whole of the North German Confederation. As, in addition to this office, he also held the onerous post of Chancellor, two subordinates were appointed to assist him in the Chancellorship—Herr von Thile, who transacted the minor details in the Department of Foreign Affairs, and Herr von Delbrück, who assumed charge of those in the Home Department.

The Federal Parliament was opened by the King on the 12th of February, and it was announced that the Assembly would be called upon to extend and complete the institutions which had been agreed upon by the separate Governments of the Confederation.

When the National Liberal party brought forward the question of the speedy admission of the Grand Duchy of Baden into the North German Bund, to the surprise of all, Bismarck opposed the measure. In the case of any difficulty with France, which such an act might engender, he was anxious for the provocation to come from that quarter. But the adhesion of Baden, he said, was only postponed to a more favourable season.

The King of Prussia closed the Diet in May, and expressed his satisfaction with the work which had

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been accomplished, including the new law of consolidation and the Act establishing an equilibrium between the revenue and expenditure in the Budget for 1870.

Several organizations formed at this time in Germany caused Bismarck much concern. First, there was the Democratic Workmen's party, led by Bebel and Liebknecht, whose main object was to break up Europe, and more especially Prussia and the North German Confederation, into a number of small communistic republics. Secondly, there was the Progressive Workmen's party, which advocated strikes on a large scale ; and, thirdly, there was the German Socialist party, the most advanced of all, and followers of Ferdinand Lassalle.

But the domestic difficulties caused by these various parties were destined soon to be overshadowed by momentous international events.

## CHAPTER III

### *THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR*

EUROPE was apparently in the enjoyment of profound peace at the close of June, 1870. So little, indeed, did the political horizon seem to be disturbed that, on the last day of that month, M. Emile Ollivier, the Prime Minister of France, officially declared in the Corps Législatif that peace was more secured than ever. Yet, in the course of one brief fortnight, war was declared, and one of the most sanguinary conflicts witnessed in modern times ensued.

The grounds assigned for the war were wholly inadequate, and they were of France's seeking. The Provisional Government of Spain, after several unsuccessful attempts to induce a foreign prince to accept the Spanish crown, resolved, on the 4th of July, to propose to the Cortes Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as King of Spain. The French became greatly excited by this news, and suggestions of Bismarckian intrigues were rife, with an alleged design on the part of the Prussian monarch to plant a subservient relative on the southern frontier

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of France. On the 6th of July two of the Ministers, the Prime Minister and the Duc de Gramont, declared in the Corps Législatif that the candidacy of a Prince of the House of Hohenzollern, agreed upon without the knowledge of the French Government, would be injurious to the honour and the influence of the French nation. The Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs hastened to assure France that the Prince was the free choice of the Spanish Government, and had been elected without previous negotiation with, or the co-operation of, any other European Power.

France was not satisfied with this explanation, however, and demanded the formal withdrawal of the candidate. King William was at Ems, and M. Benedetti, the French Ambassador to the North German Confederation, personally requested his Majesty, on the 9th of July, to forbid Prince Leopold's acceptance of the Spanish crown. The King declined, stating that he had no right to give orders to a Prince of Hohenzollern who was of age. The King added that, beyond giving his personal sanction as head of the Hohenzollern family, he had had no hand in the candidature. The Prussian Government next issued a circular despatch to its representatives in Germany, to the effect that the Government of Prussia had no part whatever in the selection of Prince Leopold for the Spanish throne. The Prince himself, perceiving the dangers which threatened Europe, of his own motion sent in his resignation on the 12th of July.

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The matter ought to have peacefully ended here ; but, with strange recklessness and culpability, the Duc de Gramont notified the Prussian Ambassador in Paris, Baron von Werther, that France was not satisfied, and that the King of Prussia himself must write to the Emperor Napoleon, excusing himself for having personally sanctioned Prince Leopold's candidature, take a definite part in its present withdrawal, and promise that under no circumstances should that candidature be renewed. Count Bismarck declined to lay these new and humiliating claims of France before the King. So, on the 13th of July, M. Benedetti forced himself into the presence of the King in a public walk at Ems, and renewed the propositions in an imperious manner. The King, highly indignant, refused to listen to the demands of the Ambassador, and turned upon his heel. The Ambassador was further informed by an adjutant that his Majesty would not grant another audience upon the matter.

France now withdrew her Ambassador from Ems, and Prussia hers from Paris. A mad war fever seized upon both nations, though there were not wanting wise spirits amongst the French Left, who pointed out the danger and impolicy of a war with Germany. King William returned to Berlin on the 16th, and was received with extraordinary enthusiasm by his people. Addresses poured in from all parts, and when the North German Confederation met at Berlin, it unanimously recognized the necessity of energetically repelling "the arrogance of France." On the 19th

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Bismarck informed the Reichstag that he had just received from the French Chargé d'Affaires the Declaration of War. The whole House rose to cheer, and the spectators in the galleries joined in the hurrahs and shouts of "Long live the King!"

At the next sitting, Bismarck stated that the Declaration of War was "the first and only communication we have received from the French Government on the subject which has engrossed the attention of the world for the last fortnight." Then he revealed to an amazed world the existence of several Draft Treaties, written by M. Benedetti on the official paper of the French Embassy, by which Napoleon had repeatedly tempted and invited Prussia to ally herself with him in perpetrating great public crimes. Europe was especially moved when, on the 25th of July, *The Times* revealed the predatory Draft Treaty of M. Benedetti (written in the autumn of 1866), which was in effect a promise on the part of Napoleon to refrain from opposing Bismarck's German policy, if Prussia would countenance the annexation of Belgium by France. It was in vain that France attempted to explain away these revelations.

England first, and the Pope afterwards, offered mediation, but the time for this was past. France addressed an ultimatum to the South German States, giving them the option between neutrality—when their territories would be respected—or war, when they would be treated with the utmost severity. The only reply of the Southern States was to place



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their armies under the command of the King of Prussia.

In an incredibly short time the German armies were mobilized to the extent of about a million of men. The French forces were also declared by Marshal Lebœuf, the War Minister, to be "ready, ay, more than ready!" a false and unfounded security for which France paid very dearly. On the 31st of July the King of Prussia left Berlin for the seat of war, being accompanied among others by Bismarck, "who had some days previously partaken of the sacrament in his own room." With Moltke, Bismarck visibly brightened after the suspense was over, and the armies had actually taken the field. He declared that the bustle and excitement would do him more good than all the medicines he had been taking; and wherever he accompanied the King throughout the war he extemporized a Bureau, or Field Foreign Office, transacting an enormous amount of work. He had also with him his Press-secretary, Dr. Busch, to whose pen the world is indebted for a record of much that his master said and did during this memorable campaign.

The King of Prussia formally assumed command of the united German armies on the 2nd of August. On the 6th the first great battle, that of Worth, was fought between the Crown Prince and Marshal Macmahon. The French were disastrously defeated, as they were also at Spicheren, near Saarbrück, and Forbach, by General von Göben, General Steinmetz, and Prince Frederick Charles. On the 7th, King

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William, with Bismarck in his suite, left Mayence for the Upper Moselle. Passing over the Saarbrück battle-fields, his Majesty reached St. Avold on the 11th, where Bismarck vainly scoured the country in search of his two sons, serving as privates in the 1st Dragoon Guards. On the 13th Henry was reached, whence the "King and the Chancellor on the 15th made a sort of reconnoitring tour, to within a mile or two of Metz, and San-Steinmetz." On the previous day, the 14th, part of Moltke's great strategic plan had already been accomplished. "On the afternoon of the 16th Bismarck, with the King, arrived at Pont-à-Mousson, and the distant thunder of cannon in the direction of Metz told that the troops of Prince Frederick Charles had already leaped upon the haunches of the flying deer. For six mortal hours during that sanguinary and scorching August day did Bismarck's men of Brandenburg alone, against more than fivefold odds, hold with an iron and inflexible grip the struggling game—making up for their weakness by 'dashing Balaclava-like dashes of cavalry against Gallic square and battery—till evening came and brought reinforcements that rolled up the French, and swept them back upon Gravelotte-St. Privat, at right angles to the line of Bazaine's attempted escape.

"This was the news that reached headquarters at Pont-à-Mousson—twenty miles away—on the evening of the 16th; and by four o'clock the next morning the Chancellor was in the saddle and away with the King to inspect the battle-field of Mars-la-Tour,

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and made arrangements for the Waterloo that was to follow this other Quatre Bras. The latter duty was the King's concern, but what absorbed Bismarck was the search for his soldier sons, whose regiment, he knew, had hurled itself in self-sacrificial fury on the vastly more numerous French. The Chancellor's boys—one in his twenty-first, the other only in his eighteenth year—had behaved in action with a courage worthy of their father. The elder, Herbert, had received no fewer than three shots; while his brother, Count William (the King's godson), had come out of the deadly welter unscathed; and the Chancellor 'related with manifest pride how the latter, with his strong arms, had dragged out of the fray one of his comrades who was wounded in the leg, and ridden off with him to a place of safety.' After searching about for some time over the bloody battle-field, the Chancellor at last found his eldest son lying in a farmyard, where there were also a considerable number of other wounded men."

At three o'clock on the morning of the 18th Bismarck started with the King from Pont-à-Mousson to witness the bloodiest battle of the whole campaign, that of Gravelotte. In this affray 323,000 men were engaged. The Germans were vastly superior in numbers, but the French had the advantage of position. This was not sufficient, however, against such overwhelming odds. Both sides suffered severely, the German loss being the heavier, but the victory lay with the Germans. The result of the battle was very serious for the French, as henceforth Bazaine's

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army was effectually sealed up in Metz ; it had entirely lost communication both with Paris and Macmahon.

Late at night, after the battle, Bismarck penned this telegram to Queen Augusta, at the dictation of the King : "The French army, in a very strong position westward of Metz, attacked, completely beaten after a battle of nine hours, cut off from its communication with Paris, and hurled back on Metz."

Dr. Busch gives the following graphic recital from Count Bismarck's own lips of his experiences on that awful day :—

"The whole day I had nothing to eat but the soldiers' bread and fat bacon. Now we found some eggs—five or six. The others must have theirs boiled, but I like them uncooked, so I got a couple of them, and broke them on the pommel of my sword, and was much refreshed. When it got light, I took the first warm food I had tasted for six and thirty hours ; it was only pea-sausage soup, which General Goeben gave me, but it tasted quite excellent. . . . I had sent my horse to water, and stood in the dusk near a battery, which was firing. The French were silent, but when we thought their artillery was disabled, they were only concentrating their guns and mitrailleuses for a last great push. Suddenly they began quite a fearful fire, with shells and suchlike—an incessant cracking and rolling, whizzing and screaming in the air. We were separated from the King, who had been sent back

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by Roon. I stayed by the battery, and thought to myself, 'If we have to retreat, put yourself on the first gun-carriage you can find.'

"We now expected that the French infantry would support the attack, when they might have taken me prisoner unless the artillery carried me away with them. But the attack failed; and at last the horses returned, and I set off back to the King. We had gone out of the drain into the gutter, for, where we had ridden to, the shells were falling thick, whereas before they had passed over our heads. Next morning we saw the deep holes they had ploughed in the ground. The King had to go back farther, as I told him to do, after the officers had made representations to me. It was now night. The King said he was hungry, and what could he have to eat? There was plenty to drink—wine and bad rum from a sutler—but not a morsel to eat but dry bread. At last, in the village, we got a few cutlets, just enough for the King, but not for any one else, so I had to find out something else for myself. His Majesty wanted to sleep in the carriage, among dead horses and badly-wounded men. He afterwards found accommodation in a little public-house. The Chancellor had to look out somewhere else. The heir of one of the greatest German potentates (the young Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg) kept watch by our common carriage, that nothing should be stolen, and (General) Sheridan and I set off to find a sleeping place. We came to a house which was still burning, and that was too

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hot. I asked at another—‘full of wounded soldiers.’ In a third, also full of the wounded. In a fourth, just the same; but I was not to be denied this time, and looked up and saw a window which was dark. ‘What have you got up there?’ I asked. ‘More wounded soldiers.’ ‘That we shall see for ourselves.’ I went up and found three empty beds, with good and apparently fairly clean straw mattresses. Here we took up our night quarters, and I slept capitally.”

The Crown Prince, who had received large reinforcements after the battles of Wissemburg and Wörth, now detached his Baden contingent to besiege Strasburg, while some of his Bavarian troops proceeded to besiege Phalsbourg and other fortresses of the Vosges. The Prince himself, with his main army, marched westwards across Lorraine, took the town of Nancy without resistance, and crossed the Moselle; then he turned northwards, and had joined the direct road from Metz to Verdun, at the time the armies of Steinmetz and Frederick Charles were occupied in pushing Bazaine back into Metz. These two armies now beleaguered Metz, under the command of the Red Prince, Steinmetz having been removed from the chief command owing to his being too prodigal of life in his military operations.

King William fixed his headquarters at Bar-le-Duc on the 14th of August, and the Crown Prince marched towards Châlons; but Macmahon had broken up his camp at the latter place, and, with 180,000 men, had begun his movement through Rheims to the north-east, hoping to join hands with

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Bazaine, and to cut off the Crown Prince's communications with Prince Frederick Charles. These movements suited Von Moltke, who had purposely encouraged the idea that the bulk of the German army was marching straight on Paris, and that the Red Prince had only a comparatively small force before Metz. But the latter was really so strong that he could afford to spare 80,000 troops to form a new army under the command of the Crown Prince of Saxony, and designated the Army of the Meuse. This force marched westward, to block the passage of the French, and the Crown Prince also struck northwards to Grand Pré and Varennes. There was thus a race between the Crown Prince and Macmahon, and the Germans gained the advantage, owing to the bad organization and delays of the French. Victories were won by the Germans at Beaumont and Carignan.

By the evening of the 31st of August the German armies had concentrated round Sedan, and Macmahon was almost completely surrounded by a circle of iron. At five o'clock on the morning of the 1st of September, one of the great battles of the world began, and it raged terribly, with fearful slaughter, until four in the afternoon. At that hour the Germans remained masters of the field, and the Crown Prince of Prussia announced a complete victory, the chief part of the French army retreating into Sedan. The Emperor Napoleon was present during the battle, and it is said that he exposed himself for four hours to the German fire.



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Macmahon having been wounded, the chief command devolved upon General de Wimpffen, who at first indignantly rejected the terms offered by the victor, and the Emperor had a fruitless interview with Count Bismarck to endeavour to mitigate them. At length, on the 2nd of September, the capitulation of Sedan and the whole army was signed by Generals Von Moltke and de Wimpffen at the Château of Bellevue, near Frenois.

The tragic and momentous incidents which culminated in the French surrender at Sedan were graphically described in a letter written by King William himself to Queen Augusta at Berlin. The letter was dated Vendresse, South of Sedan, September 3rd, and, as it is deeply interesting from the personal point of view, we reproduce it here :—

“You will have learned through my three telegrams the whole extent of the great historical event which has just taken place. It is like a dream, even when one has seen it unroll itself hour by hour ; but when I consider that after one great successful war I could not expect anything more glorious during my reign, and that I now see this act follow destined to be famous in the history of the world, I bow before God, who alone has chosen my army and allies to carry it into execution, and has chosen us as the instruments of His will. It is only in this sense that I can conceive this work, and in all humility praise God’s guidance and grace. I will now give you a picture of the battle and its

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results in a compressed form. On the evening of the 31st and the morning of the 1st the army had reached its appointed positions round Sedan. The Bavarians held the left wing, near Bazeilles, on the Meuse; next them the Saxons, towards Moucelle and Daigny; the Guards still marching towards Givoune, the 5th and 11th Corps towards St. Menges and Fleigneux. As the Meuse here makes a sharp bend, no corps had been posted from St. Menges to Donchery; but at the latter place there were Wurtembergers, who covered the rear against sallies from Mézières. Count Stolberg's cavalry division was in the plain of Donchery as right wing; the rest of the Bavarians were in the front towards Sedan.

"Notwithstanding a thick fog, the battle began at Bazeilles early in the morning, and a sharp action developed itself by degrees, in which it was necessary to take house by house. It lasted nearly all day, and Schöler's Erfurt division (Reserve 4th Corps) was obliged to assist. It was at eight o'clock, when I reached the front before Sedan, that the great battle commenced. A hot artillery action now began at all points. It lasted for hours, and during it we gradually gained ground. As the above-named villages were taken, very deep and wooded ravines made the advance of the infantry more difficult, and favoured the defence. The villages of Illy and Flouig were taken, and the fiery circle drew gradually closer round Sedan. It was a grand sight from our position on a commanding height, behind the above-

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mentioned battery, when we looked to the front beyond Pont Torey. The violent resistance of the enemy began to slacken by degrees, which we could see by the broken battalions that were hurriedly retreating from the woods and villages. The cavalry endeavoured to attack several battalions of our 5th Corps, and the latter behaved admirably. The cavalry galloped through the interval between the battalions, and then returned the same way. This was repeated three times, so that the ground was covered with corpses and horses, all of which we could see very well from our position. I have not been able to learn the number of this brave regiment, as the retreat of the enemy was in many places a flight. The infantry, cavalry, and artillery rushed in a crowd into the town and its immediate environs, but no sign was given that the enemy contemplated extricating himself from his desperate situation by capitulation. No other course was left than to bombard the town with the heavy battery. In twenty minutes the town was burning in several places, which, with the numerous burning villages over the whole field, produced a terrible impression.

"I accordingly ordered the firing to cease, and sent Lieut.-Colonel von Bronsart, of the general Staff, with a flag of truce, to demand the capitulation of the army and the fortress. He was met by a Bavarian officer, who reported to me that a French *parlementaire* had announced himself at the gate. Colonel von Bronsart was admitted, and on his asking for the Commander-in-Chief, he was unexpectedly

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introduced into the presence of the Emperor, who wished to give him a letter for myself. When the Emperor asked what his message was, and received the answer, 'to demand the surrender of the army and fortress,' he replied that on this subject he must apply to General de Wimpffen, who had undertaken the command in place of the wounded General Macmahon, and that he would now send his Adjutant-General, Reille, with the letter to myself.

"It was seven o'clock when Reille and Bronsart came to me, the latter a little in advance; and it was first through him that I learnt with certainty the presence of the Emperor. You may imagine the impression which this made upon all of us, but particularly on myself. Reille sprang from his horse, and gave me the letter of the Emperor, adding that he had no other orders. Before I opened the letter I said to him, 'But I demand, as the first condition, that the army lay down its arms.' The letter begins thus: '*N'ayant pas pu mourir à la tête de mes troupes, je dépose mon épée à votre majesté,*' leaving all the rest to me. My answer was that I deplored the manner of our meeting, and begged that a plenipotentiary might be sent, with whom we might conclude the capitulation. After I had given the letter to General Reille, I spoke a few words with him as an old acquaintance, and so this act ended. I gave Moltke powers to negotiate, and directed Bismarck to remain behind in case political questions should arise. I then rode to my carriage and

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drove here, greeted everywhere along the road with the loud hurrahs of the trains that were marching up and singing the National Hymn. It was deeply touching. Candles were lighted everywhere, so that we were driven through an improvised illumination. I arrived here at eleven o'clock, and drank with those about me to the prosperity of an army which had accomplished such feats.

“As on the morning of the 2nd I received negotiations for the capitulation, which were to take in Donchery, I drove to the battle-field, according to agreement, at eight o'clock, and met Moltke, who was coming to obtain my consent to the proposed capitulation. He told me at the same time that the Emperor had left Sedan at five o'clock in the morning, and had come to Donchery, as he wished to speak with me. There was a château and park in the neighbourhood, and I chose that place for our meeting. At ten o'clock I reached the height before Sedan. Moltke and Bismarck appeared at twelve o'clock with the capitulation duly signed. At one o'clock I started again with Fritz (the Crown Prince), and, escorted by the cavalry and Staff, I alighted before the château, where the Emperor came to meet me. The visit lasted a quarter of an hour. We were both much moved at seeing each other again under such circumstances. What my feelings were—I had seen Napoleon only three years before at the summit of his power—is more than I can describe. After this meeting, from half-past two to half-past seven o'clock, I rode past the whole army before

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Sedan. The reception given me by the troops, the meeting with the Guards, now decimated—all these are things which I cannot describe to-day. I was much touched by so many proofs of love and devotion. Now, farewell! A heart deeply moved at the conclusion of such a letter.

“WILHELM.”

Bismarck also gave this interesting account of the capitulation in a letter to his wife, dated Vendresse, September 3rd:—

“MY DEAR HEART!—The day before yesterday I left my present quarters before daybreak; to-day I return here, and in the meantime have witnessed the great battle of Sedan on the 1st. Yesterday morning at five, after having been up till one in the morning with Moltke and the French generals negotiating about the capitulation which is to be concluded, General Reille, whom I know, woke me to tell me that Napoleon wanted to speak to me. Unwashed and fasting, I rode off to Sedan, and found the Emperor waiting in a carriage on the high road, with three adjutants, and three horsemen beside him. I dismounted, greeted him with as much politeness as in the Tuileries, and asked what were his orders. He wanted to see the King. I told him, in conformity to the truth, that his Majesty’s quarters were three miles off, at the place where I am now writing.

“In answer to Napoleon’s question, whither he

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should betake himself, being myself unacquainted with the country, I offered him my quarters in Donchery, a little place in the neighbourhood, close to Sedan. He accepted, and drove off in the lonely morning in our direction, accompanied by his six Frenchmen, myself, and Carl (Counsellor of the Embassy, Count Bismarck-Bohlen), who had meanwhile ridden after me. On getting near the place he began to be alarmed, lest there should be a crowd of people, and asked me if he might alight at a lonely cottage by the roadside. I sent Carl to look at it, and he reported that it was poor and dirty; 'N'importe,' was N.'s answer, and I mounted the narrow rickety staircase with him. In a room ten feet square, with a deal table and two rush-bottomed chairs, we sat for an hour, while the others remained below. A tremendous contrast to our last meeting in '67 at the Tuileries! Conversation was difficult, as I did not want to touch upon matters which must be painful to one who had been overthrown by God's powerful hand. I had sent Carl to the town to fetch some officers, and to ask Moltke to come. We despatched one of the officers to reconnoitre, and discovered a small castle and park at Fresnois, half a mile off. I accompanied Napoleon thither with an escort of Cuirassiers, which had meanwhile hurried to the spot, and there we concluded the capitulation with the French Commander-in-Chief, General Wimpffen. These two days have cost France 100,000 men and an Emperor. Early this morning he started for



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Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel, with all his retinue, horses and carriages.

"It is an event in the history of the world, a victory for which we must humbly thank God Almighty. He will decide the issue of the war, even if we have to carry it on against France bereft of her Emperor. I must close. I was heartily glad to see in Maria's and your letters that Herbert had arrived home. I spoke to Bill yesterday, as I have already telegraphed, and in his Majesty's presence embraced him from my horse as he stood stiffly by. He is very well and cheerful.

"Farewell, dear heart. Love to the children.

"Your

"V. B."

By the capitulation of Sedan, about 83,000 men, including 4000 officers and 50 generals, fell into the hands of the Germans. In the battles round Sedan 25,000 more had been made prisoners, as well as 25,000 taken at the battle of Beaumont. At the time the battle of Sedan was in progress, Bazaine made a desperate sortie from Metz, but was driven back into the fortress.

When all this disastrous news reached Paris the Emperor Napoleon was deposed, and the Empress only escaped with the greatest difficulty from the Tuileries. A Republic was proclaimed, and a Provisional Government was formed, including Gambetta, Jules Favre (Minister of Foreign Affairs), Crémieux, Simon, Arago, and others. General Trochu was

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elected President and Commander-in-Chief of the military forces. The proclamation of the Republic was joyfully welcomed at Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and other cities. The French people clamoured for the continuance of the war, and Bismarck also determined that it should go forward, although Sedan had secured what he originally required from France.

In a Circular Despatch, dated the 13th of September, Bismarck said :—

“Our demands for peace must be solely directed towards rendering it more difficult for France to make the next attack upon Germany, and more especially upon the South-German frontier, by pushing that frontier further back, and with it the starting-point of the French attack; and also by endeavouring to get those fortresses with which France threatens us into the hands of Germany, as defensive bulwarks.”

He soon made no concealment of the necessity of taking Strasburg and Metz from France, although at first he had no intention of calling for the possession of a town so entirely French as Metz. He would like to have razed the fortress, but as this was opposed, he demanded its cession. All through the negotiations, both before and after Sedan, he put the interests of Germany first and foremost, and everything else had to give way. He troubled himself about the internal affairs of France only in so far as they affected German interests. On one occasion he alarmed Jules Favre by saying :—

“If it were to our interest to uphold the dynasty

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of Napoleon, we should re-establish it ; the same thing holds good of the Orleans Prince, and also of the Comte de Chambord, who would be very much to our taste, and especially so to that of the King, who, as may be imagined, holds fast by old traditions. As far as I am concerned, with regard to this I am entirely without prejudices—I am even a Republican—and in my opinion no government can be good which does not come from the people ; but then each one must be adapted to the necessities and traditions. Therefore we must occupy ourselves above all with that which is useful for our countries, and so I naturally consult the interest of my own.”

Further events in the Franco-German war must be briefly chronicled. Immediately after Sedan the investment of Paris began. On the 28th of September Strasburg surrendered, and a month later Marshal Bazaine surrendered Metz, a fortress always regarded as impregnable. Bazaine's surrender caused the most violent scenes and denunciations in Paris. All through the winter the investment of the French capital continued, the inhabitants being reduced to the most terrible straits. Sorties and outbreaks took place, but these were repulsed.

On the 18th of January, 1871, the King of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor in the Hall of Mirrors, Versailles. The date chosen was the anniversary of the day on which the first King of Prussia had crowned himself at Königsberg, in 1701. It was a strange and brilliant scene this, in which proclamation of the German Empire was made in the historical

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palace of the Kings of France. The clash of arms and the din of martial music were alternated with hymns of praise and prayer, and the Court preacher delivered a homily on the text, "The kings of the earth reign under me, saith the Lord." After the discourse, King William moved from before the altar to a platform at the end of the hall, where waved a dense and variegated bower of regimental colours which had led the way to victory at Wörth and Wissemburg, at Mars-la-Tour, at Gravelotte, and at Sedan. "To the King's left stood Bismarck," said Dr. W. H. Russell, "looking pale, but calm and self-possessed, elevated, as it were, by some internal force which caused all eyes to turn on the great figure with that indomitable face, where the will seems to be master and lord of all."

At King William's command, Bismarck stepped forward and read this proclamation: "We, William, by God's grace King of Prussia, hereby announce that the German Princes and Free Towns having addressed to us a unanimous call to renew and undertake with the re-establishment of the German Empire the dignity of Emperor, which now for sixty years has been in abeyance, and the requisite provisions having been inserted in the Constitution of the German Confederation; we regard it as a duty we owe to the entire Fatherland to comply with this call of the united German Princes and Free Towns, and to accept the dignity of Emperor. Accordingly, we and our successors to the Crown of Prussia henceforth shall use the Imperial title in all the relations and

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affairs of the German Empire, and we hope to God that it may be vouchsafed to the German nation to lead the Fatherland on to a blessed future, under the auspices of its ancient splendour. We undertake the Imperial dignity conscious of the duty to protect with German loyalty the rights of the Empire and its members, to preserve peace, to maintain the independence of Germany, and to strengthen the power of the people. We accept it in the hope that it will be granted to the German people to enjoy in lasting peace the reward of the arduous and heroic struggles within boundaries which will give to the Fatherland that security against renewed French attacks which it has lacked for centuries. May God grant to us and to our successors to the Imperial Crown, that we may be the defenders of the German Empire at all times; not in martial conquests, but in works of peace, in the sphere of national prosperity, freedom and civilization."

When the clear tones of the Chancellor ceased, the Grand Duke of Baden advanced, and exclaimed in German, in a loud voice, "Long live the German Emperor William!" The whole of the distinguished assembly took up the cry as one man, and a military band stationed under the windows of the Salle struck up the Prussian National Anthem. It was one of the greatest days in the history of modern Germany.

On the 28th of January, 1871, Paris surrendered, after a siege of 131 days. Negotiations were entered into, and a Treaty of Peace between Germany and France was signed on the 26th of February. The

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Treaty pressed very hardly upon France, and she protested in vain against the cession of Metz. The only modification which the Germans made in the original terms—though this was an important one—was the restitution of the fortress of Belfort, commanding the passes in the Vosges. This was conceded as an equivalent for permitting the German army to march through Paris. The principal conditions of the Treaty were the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, and the payment of a war indemnity of five milliards of francs, being £200,000,000 in English money. These demands were as great as Europe would allow, and their severity left a permanent feeling of hatred towards Germany in the breasts of the French people.

The German army marched through Paris on the 1st of March, the population generally respecting a proclamation by M. Thiers, in which he appealed to their patriotism and self-restraint to remain quiescent on this day of humiliation. The German army soon afterwards left France. On the occasion of the Emperor William's birthday in March, his Majesty signalized the day in Berlin by promotions amongst his chief leaders and subjects. Bismarck was created a Prince, Moltke was made a Field Marshal, and received the Iron Cross, and Von Roon was raised to the rank of Count.

The first United German Parliament met at Berlin in March, 1871, and Bismarck found his labours in connection with it almost overwhelming. The Bill for the Incorporation of Alsace and Lorraine

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presented unusual difficulties, but he surmounted them in the end, and practically secured the government of the new provinces in his own hands until the 1st of January, 1873, by vesting them until then in the German Emperor and the Federal Council.

The conclusion of the Franco-German war saw Prince Bismarck at the zenith of his dazzling and extraordinary career.



## CHAPTER IV

### *PARLIAMENTARY AND DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLES*

**A**LTHOUGH victorious in the field and in the peace negotiations with France, Bismarck was now to enter upon a prolonged campaign at home, in which he was destined to suffer more than one defeat.

Before dealing with the domestic affairs of Germany and Prussia, however, some further attention must be given to the foreign relations of Germany. The friendly relations between the Czar and the Emperor William were strengthened by a visit which the former paid to Berlin in June, 1871. Then on the 11th of August there was a meeting at Ischl between the Kaiser and the Emperor of Austria, who had remained strictly neutral during the deadly struggle with France. There was a second meeting between the Emperors at Salzburg in September. The Roumanian Railways, Socialism, and the Pope formed the subjects of discussion. A cordial understanding was arrived at between the Sovereigns and

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their Ministers. Francis Joseph acquiesced in the position which the Prussian Sovereign had taken as leader of Germany, and William I. engaged not to tamper with the German provinces of the Austrian Empire.

As a result of the assassination of the Czar Alexander in March, 1881, the Emperor William requested Bismarck to consider what could be done to induce the Powers to check political murders by changing their laws of asylum. "The main thing," wrote the Emperor, "will be to gain over England, France, and Switzerland, who have hitherto afforded refuge to political criminals." But the project fell through, owing to the negative attitude of England. Four years later, however, an Extradition Convention was concluded between the German and Russian Empires against assassins and dynamiters.

Berlin was very gay and festive in September, 1872, when there was a meeting between all the three Emperors of Russia, Austria, and Germany. The meeting was devised by Bismarck, who was now most anxious for a period of international peace, having his hands more than full with home problems. The isolation of France was his principal object, as he knew she could not carry out her anti-German policy without finding a war ally in Europe. In 1873 return visits were paid to St. Petersburg and Vienna by the Emperor William and Bismarck; but the German alliance was not very favourably viewed by the Russian people. The meeting of Francis Joseph and William at Vienna was very cordial, and the

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German Chancellor had frequent interviews with Count Andrassy. Peace views were strengthened and ratified, and the French hopes of revenge were still further deferred. Prussia at this time likewise arrived at a friendly understanding with Italy, and Victor Emmanuel visited Berlin in September, 1873. In the autumn of 1875 the Emperor William made a return visit to Milan, where he had a splendid reception.

With regard to affairs in France, Bismarck was in favour of a Republic, as tending to the speedy payment of the indemnity ; but Count Arnim, the German Ambassador in Paris, favoured a monarchical restoration. Jealous of the power of Bismarck, he intrigued against the Chancellor in various quarters. This came to such a pass that the Evacuation Treaty, with the conclusion of which Arnim himself had been entrusted, was signed at Berlin on the 15th of March, 1873, by Prince Bismarck and M. Gontaut-Biron. Arnim complained to the Emperor, but in vain. Bismarck could not effect Arnim's recall, however, as he had powerful friends at the Prussian Court, including even the Empress. The quarrel was aggravated by the fall of M. Thiers and the election of Marshal Macmahon, which Bismarck regarded as of evil omen for Germany. Arnim went to Berlin to endeavour to make his peace, but there was a stormy and fruitless interview between him and the Chancellor. Bismarck at length brought the Emperor to his view, and in March, 1874, Count Arnim was informed of his transference from Paris to Constantinople.

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This enraged the Count, who regarded it as a degradation, and he intrigued worse than ever ; and, to make matters worse, Prince Hohenlohe, his successor at Paris, reported that important documents were missing from the archives of the Embassy. Being required to surrender the documents, Arnim restored some, but not all. He was threatened with a criminal prosecution, but he still held out, and Europe was startled in October, 1874, by the news that Count Harry Arnim had been arrested on his own estate near Stettin, and conveyed to Berlin, where he was placed in gaol. He was brought to trial, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment on the minor count of his indictment.

For several years the feeling that France was secretly preparing for war was very strong in Germany, and it was intensified when, in the spring of 1875, there were reports of an understanding or proposed alliance between France, Austria, and Italy. There was even an important discussion in the English House of Lords on the relations of France and Germany ; but France managed to demonstrate to all the Powers except unbelieving Germany that her intentions were pacific. However, the war scare passed over. In the war between Russia and Turkey Germany took no part ; but in connection with the Congress of Berlin, held in June and July, 1878, after the war, Bismarck appeared as "the honest broker." He sat in the Congress in the double capacity of President and Plenipotentiary ; and by his skilful management of affairs he greatly assisted in the

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adjustment of all difficulties which arose between Gortschakoff, Beaconsfield, and others. The Treaty of Berlin was the result, and in closing the Congress Bismarck said : " I have a firm hope that the European understanding will, with the help of God, be lasting, and that the cordial personal relations which during our labours have been established between us will strengthen and consolidate good relations between our Governments." As Gortschakoff had claimed to be the dispeller of the war cloud in 1875, so Bismarck was now pointed to as the preserver of European peace in 1878.

But Russia was bitterly disappointed with the course of events, and Gortschakoff considered that he had been outwitted by Bismarck at Berlin. The Czar fell away from the Triple Alliance; and the relations between Russia and Germany became so threatening that Bismarck hurried off to Vienna to see the Emperor Francis Joseph in the autumn of 1879, returning with the draft of a Defensive Treaty of Alliance between Germany and Austria, which was afterwards signed at Vienna. When this Austro-German Treaty was published some years later it was hailed with acclamation in Germany and Austria, and even in England the Marquis of Salisbury described it as " good tidings of great joy " as affecting the peace of Europe. When Alexander III. became Czar in 1881 he cultivated friendly relations with Germany, and let it be known to all Europe that his policy was one of peace.

Some years later Germany entered upon a bold

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course of colonial policy, endeavouring to extend her possessions abroad, especially in Africa. Serious disputes arose in consequence with several countries, including England and Spain, but these quarrels were eventually composed. Fresh difficulties arose with France, however, over questions of frontier, and it required all the German Chancellor's wisdom and moderation to settle them without war. Almost immediately afterwards, trouble arose with Russia. The Czar and his Consort paid a visit to the Emperor William at Berlin; but it was understood that the Czar was feeling extremely angry over recent German policy, and he had a long and stormy interview with the German Chancellor. The Czar charged Bismarck with playing a double part in the politics of the Bulgarian Principality; but the Chancellor protested that the German policy had been consistent throughout, and free from guile, and that his Majesty must have been grossly misinformed. The Czar replied that his sources of information were beyond question, for correspondence had come to his knowledge between Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria and the Countess of Flanders, as well as between Prince Ferdinand and Prince Reuss, German Ambassador at Vienna, proving conclusively that the German Government, false to its official declarations, was secretly encouraging the new Prince of Bulgaria with hopes of support. Bismarck was astounded, and said that the Czar had been cruelly imposed upon. "But there are the documents!" urged his Majesty. "The documents may be there," replied the Chan-

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cellor, "but I solemnly declare them to be a bold and impudent forgery, committed for the purpose of sowing distrust and enmity between two friendly nations." The Czar was now thunderstruck, and as Bismarck had no difficulty in proving that the documents were forgeries, a cordial understanding once more prevailed between Russia and Germany. The documents proved to have emanated from the camp of the Orleanists, who hoped thereby to sow discord between Russia and Germany, and to precipitate a European conflict. The publication of the papers was a heavy blow to the French Government.

In 1888 the Austro-German Treaty of Alliance, to which Italy also was a party, was published. Bismarck declared in the Reichstag that "he placed absolute confidence in the peaceful words of the Emperor Alexander ;" but this did not prevent him from delivering several energetic speeches, "which, for their political wisdom, historical contents and masterly review of international relations, threw all his previous efforts of the same kind into the shade ; and for a few weeks afterwards all Europe rang with the reverberation of his words."

Returning now to the domestic affairs of the German Empire, Bismarck's first and most prolonged difficulty arose with regard to the Roman Catholic subjects of the Empire. The population of Prussia contained a very large Roman Catholic minority, and that of the new Empire, with Bavaria and the other South German States, was altogether more than one-third Roman Catholic. The Ultramontane party in



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the Imperial Diet unfortunately provoked Bismarck's displeasure by selecting for its leader Dr. Windthorst, an ex-Minister of the deposed King of Hanover, and it also openly demanded German intervention in favour of the temporal power of the Pope. The Chancellor seized upon the moment as an opportune one for securing once and for all the supremacy of the State in the new Empire. The dogma of Papal Infallibility proclaimed by the Vatican Council of 1870, notwithstanding the opposition of the German Episcopate, had caused serious dissensions amongst the laity, and though most of the bishops had ultimately yielded a reluctant assent, their example was by no means universally followed. By encouraging wherever he could the Old Catholic movement, Bismarck hoped to increase the resistance of the Roman Catholic laity to the authority of Rome.

The quarrel began over the maintenance by the State of Old Catholics as religious teachers in Roman Catholic schools. Bismarck, judging from the eminence of some of its leaders, overrated the strength of the Old Catholic revolt against Rome. Although that party had distinguished leaders like Bishop Reinkens and Dr. von Döllinger, it was nothing like so numerous as the Chancellor thought. But the powerful Chancellor of a victorious Empire was in a fighting mood, and vigorously pursued the *Kulturkampf*, or war against the clericals. In the stormy debates which now ensued, Bismarck referred on one occasion to the ancient strife between Empire and Pope, when the latter was victorious. But the

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Chancellor added, amid the cheers of the National Liberal party, "We will not go to Canossa." The State enforced its right with the utmost vigour ; while, on the other hand, archbishops and bishops pushed the prerogative they claimed to extremes. Four out of the twelve Roman Catholic bishops of the Prussian Kingdom came to an open rupture with the Government. Three of these dignitaries—Archbishop Ledochowski, the Archbishop of Cologne, and the Bishop of Treves—were arrested and imprisoned for refusing to pay the fines imposed upon them for persistent contravention of the Falck Laws.

It must be stated that in January, 1872, Dr. Falck had been appointed Minister of Public Worship, and the appointment was significant of subsequent measures. The new Minister carried out vigorously the anti-Papal policy of the Chancellor, and oppressive measures rapidly succeeded each other. The inspection of schools was transferred from the Church to the State, the inspectors being brought under departmental control, and rendered liable to dismissal for the abuse of their functions. The Jesuits were declared ineligible for all priestly and scholastic charges. The famous Falck Laws—passed in May, 1873—were in effect a radical revision of the spiritual constitution of the country. They were afterwards supplemented by others still more severe ; recalcitrant clergymen forfeited their civil rights, and might be condemned to expulsion from the Fatherland. Then came what was known as "the bread-basket law," which suspended State payments to the Church until

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the clergy should give unconditional submission. Then followed the Cloister Law, which expelled all religious orders and transferred the administration of ecclesiastical property. If, however, the Falck Laws could punish ecclesiastics, they could not touch the congregations, except when riots occurred. But the whole trend of this clerical legislation was to weaken the bonds of national unity.

In July, 1874, while Bismarck was at Kissingen to drink the waters, his life was attempted by a young man named Kullmann, a journeyman cooper, who was ill-educated, and imbued with a fanatical hatred of the Chancellor as the author of the religious laws. While the Prince was in the act of saluting a friend as he entered his carriage, Kullmann fired a pistol at him, and the bullet grazed the Chancellor's hand. The assassin ran away, but was arrested after a desperate attempt to escape. Being brought to trial, he was sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment.

In 1876 Bismarck moved for a second time against Count Harry Arnim, who had evaded his previous sentence by leaving the country. He was now tried in connection with the publication of a pamphlet entitled *Pro Nihilo*, which created a great sensation, and in which were alleged false statements against the Emperor and his Government. On the 12th of October the Count was found guilty by the High Court of State on the charges of betraying his country, offending the Emperor, and insulting Prince Bismarck and the Foreign Office. He was sentenced to five years' penal servitude — a terrible sentence

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to one in the Count's position in the State and in society.

Bismarck offered his resignation in April, 1877, as he was suffering seriously from ill-health. His resignation was not accepted, but he was allowed to retire for a time from the active duties of office. In February, 1878, however, he once more appeared as chief of the Ministry. Leo XIII. had just been elected Pope on the death of Pius IX., and there seemed to be some hope of a settlement of the religious difficulty. But the new Pope promised in the outset more than he was able to perform. Dr. Falck was invited to resign, as Bismarck's move towards an adjustment, but he was brought back again to be held *in terrorem*, when conciliatory efforts fell through. However, in 1880, the Discretionary Powers Bill relieved the strain by mitigating the harshness with which the Falck Laws had hitherto been enforced. This was regarded as a practical pledge of readiness for a compromise. The Chancellor next invoked the arbitration of Leo XIII. in the dispute with Spain as to the Caroline Islands, and as he gradually became more yielding, the tension of the situation relaxed. But the actual terms of settlement agreed upon never became known.

Bismarck now entered upon a new campaign, and this time it was against the Socialists. He was alarmed at the progress of the Social Democracy, and set to work to crush it by repressive legislation. He found immediate cause for his action in the

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attempt of Heinrich Max Hödel upon the life of the Emperor in May, 1878. Hödel, who was a Socialist, twice fired at his Majesty in the Unter den Linden, and the aged monarch was heard to exclaim, "Is it possible that those shots are intended for me?" Hödel was brought to trial and executed; and the Government introduced in the Reichstag an Anti-Socialist Bill of a very stringent character. It was strongly opposed as unworkable, however, by the Chancellor's own friends, the National Liberals, and the Government suffered a disastrous defeat by 251 to 57 votes.

Yet Bismarck soon found new material for his war against the Socialists by the more serious attempt of Dr. Karl Edouard Nobiling against the Emperor. Nobiling was a doctor of philology and an agriculturist. On the 2nd of June, 1878, from his window in the Unter den Linden, he fired two shots at his Majesty, who was seriously wounded. When Nobiling was arrested he turned his revolver against himself. The Emperor ultimately recovered, but Nobiling died soon after his arrest of his self-inflicted wounds. He confessed his crime, but absolutely declined to divulge his reasons. General Grant happened to be in Berlin soon after Nobiling's attempt on the life of the Emperor, and having expressed to Bismarck his horror at the crime, the Chancellor, with much emotion, replied as follows:—

"Here you have an old man, one of the best men on earth, and yet they try to take his life. There never was a man of simpler, more magnanimous, and

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more humane character than the Emperor. He is totally different from those who are born to such a high position, or at least from many of them. You know that persons of his rank, princes by birth, are inclined to look upon themselves as something wholly different from other men, attaching but little value to the feelings and wishes of others. But the Emperor, on the contrary, is a man in all things. He has never in his life wronged any one, nor hurt any one's feelings, nor acted with severity. He is one of those men whose kindly disposition wins all hearts; and he is always occupied with, and mindful of, the happiness and welfare of his subjects and of those about him. It is impossible to imagine a finer, nobler, more amiable, and beneficent type of a nobleman, with all the high qualities of a sovereign and the virtues of a man. I should have thought that the Emperor could have passed through all his dominions alone without danger; and now they seek to kill him."

The Chancellor further said: "In certain respects the Kaiser resembles his ancestor, Frederick William, the father of Frederick the Great, inasmuch as the old King had the same homely sort of character—lived simply and retired, and led a true family life, possessing all republican virtues. And so it is with our Kaiser, who is in all things so republican, that even the most incarnate democrat would admire him if his judgment were impartial." General Grant observed that he did not see why a person who committed such a crime as Nobiling's, which not only imperilled the life of an aged Sovereign, but

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filled the world with horror, should not be visited with the severest punishment. To this Bismarck responded : "That is precisely my view ; and my conviction on this head is so strong, that (among other reasons) I resigned the reins of power in Alsace so as not to have to exercise mercy in cases of capital punishment. It was impossible for me to force my conscience. Well, now, look at this aged nobleman, this Emperor of ours, whose subjects sought to murder him—such is his largeness of heart that he never will confirm a sentence of death. It is impossible to imagine anything more unique—a monarch, whose clemency, so to speak, has abolished capital punishment, becoming himself on that very account the victim of a murder, or an attempt at murder. That is a fact ; but in this respect I cannot agree with the Emperor ; and in Alsace, where I, as Chancellor, had to countersign acts of mercy, I always inwardly rebelled against doing so. In Prussia that is the business of the Minister of Justice, but in Alsace it fell on me. I feel, as the French say, that we owe justice something, and that in the case of crimes like this they must be severely punished."

After Nobiling's attempt, Bismarck determined upon an appeal to the country, and he was so far successful that the Conservatives strengthened their position at the expense of the Liberals, while the Socialists secured only nine members as against their previous twelve. The new Reichstag passed a strong Anti-Socialist Bill by 221 votes to 149. By this measure it was left to the authorities to



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decide what Socialist and Communist doctrines were, who Socialist and Communist writers were, and to take the most peremptory measures for their suppression. The Act came into force immediately, and four clubs in Berlin and a large number of publications were at once suppressed by the police. In other places also suspected persons were practically proscribed, and placed at the mercy of the police.

The German Chancellor now began to exhibit a spirit of opportunism in the foreign relations of the Empire, while, as regards home politics, he abandoned the National Liberal party, which had practically been of his own creation. He became daily more disturbed by the growth of Socialism, which the severest measures failed to suppress. As a counterpoise to the movement, he initiated legislation in favour of the working classes; but it failed to conciliate those for whom it was intended, while it irritated the upper classes, upon whom Bismarck was now obliged to rely mainly for support. It was a strange commentary upon his repressive measures against the Socialists, that in twelve years the Socialist vote rose from 600,000 to nearly 1,500,000, and its representation from eleven to thirty-five members.

Prince Bismarck entered upon his seventieth year on the 1st of April, 1885; and he took this opportunity of announcing that he intended to resign the Presidency of the Prussian Ministry, and the portfolios of Foreign Affairs and Commerce in the Cabinet, retaining only the post of Imperial Chancellor. As

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this anniversary was also the celebration of his fiftieth year of public life, the double event excited great enthusiasm through all Germany. Many valuable presents were made to him, but the most important of all was the gift of the purchase deeds of the ancestral estates of Schönhausen, which had been sold by the family when in difficulties, and were now repurchased for £150,000, raised by subscriptions throughout the Fatherland. Among the congratulations received by the Prince were an autograph letter from the Emperor of Germany, telegrams from the Emperors of Russia and Austria, the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Sweden, Roumania, Siam, Wurtemberg, and Belgium, as well as 2100 letters and 3500 telegrams from various sources.

The Emperor William, accompanied by the Crown Prince and other members of his family, went to the Chancellor's residence, and affectionately embracing him with tears in his eyes, presented him with a reduced copy of Von Werner's famous painting of the "Proclamation of the Empire at Versailles." The Emperor's letter, referred to above, ran as follows :—

"MY DEAR PRINCE,—The German people having shown a warm desire to testify to you, on the occasion of your seventieth birthday, that the recollection of all you have done for the greatness of the Fatherland lives in so many grateful hearts, I, too, feel strongly impelled to tell you how deeply gratified I am that such a feeling of thankfulness and veneration for you

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moves the nation. I am rejoiced at this, for you have most richly earned the recognition, and my heart is warmed at seeing such sentiments manifested in so great a measure, for it signifies the nation in the present, and strengthens our hopes of its future, when it shows appreciation of the true and the great, and when it celebrates and honours its most meritorious men. To me, and to my house, it is an especial pleasure to take part in such a festival ; and by the accompanying picture to wish to convey to you with what feelings of grateful recollection we do this, seeing that it calls to mind one of the greatest moments in the history of the House of Hohenzollern—one which can never be thought of without at the same time recalling your merits.

“ You, my dear Prince, know how I shall always be animated towards you with feelings of the fullest confidence, of the most sincere affection, and the warmest gratitude. But, in saying this, I tell you nothing which I have not often enough already repeated to you, and methinks that this painting will enable your latest descendants to realize that your Kaiser and King, as well as his house, were well conscious of what they had to thank you for. With these sentiments and feelings, which will last beyond the grave, I end these lines.

“ Your grateful, faithful, and devoted

“ Kaiser and King,

“ WILHELM.”

A few months later, on the anniversary of Sedan,

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the Emperor presented Bismarck with the only important decoration which as yet he did not possess, the *Ordre pour le Mérite*.

The domestic legislation achieved by Bismarck down to the death of the first German Emperor covered a wide field. It embraced a codification of the law ; a reformed coinage ; a nationalization of the Prussian railways, as a preliminary step to Imperial State lines ; fiscal reform in the direction of making the Empire self-supporting, that is, independent of "matricular contributions" from its component States ; a repeated increase of the army, and the regular voting of its estimates for seven years at a time—the Military Septennate ; the introduction of a protective tariff in 1879 ; and the Acts through which he endeavoured to combat social democracy and its attendant evils, by means at once repressive and remedial. Among the latter measures were the lightening of the burdens of direct taxation ; the insurance of working men against suffering from accidents, indigence, and old age ; and also other economic experiments, which caused some to look upon Bismarck as the greatest State Socialist of the age. In his efforts to improve the finances of the Empire, Bismarck repeatedly tried to establish various Government monopolies, of tobacco, etc., but in these attempts he was unsuccessful.

On the 9th of March, 1888, the Emperor William I. died, full of years and honours. It will be understood from their long and close relations together, how keenly Bismarck felt his old master's death. He

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watched by his death-bed to the last, and in paying a tribute to his memory in the Reichstag, the Chancellor seemed to have lost his iron sternness and to be entirely swayed by tender human emotions. In concluding his eulogy upon the great Sovereign now lying dead, he said :—

“ May the heroic valour, the high sense of national honour, and, above all things, the faithful and laborious devotion to duty in the service of the Fatherland, and the love for it which were embodied in our deceased Sovereign—may these qualities, I say, which our departed Emperor has left behind for us, become the imperishable inheritance of our nation. I hope to God that this inheritance may be faithfully treasured by us in peace and war, with heroism, with loyalty, with love of labour and devotion to duty, by all of us especially who have to take part in the business of our Fatherland.”

William I. was succeeded by his son Frederick III. —“ Frederick the Good ”—a man of noble instincts and Liberal sympathies. But, alas ! he was already stricken for death by that painful disease, cancer. He lived but a few months, yet that brief period was sufficient to show that he intended to rule not through blood and iron, but by gentler and loftier means. This he made clear when he thus wrote to Bismarck upon his accession : “ My dear Prince,—On assuming power, I feel the necessity of addressing you, the long-tried, first servant of my father, who now rests in God. You have been the faithful and brave adviser who gave shape to the aims of his policy, and

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secured their successful realization. I and my house are and will remain most grateful to you. You, therefore, have, above all, a right to know the principles which will direct me in my rule." After citing these principles, the Emperor concluded: "For the realization of these my intentions, I rely on your oft-proved devotion, and on the support of your tried experience. . . . Not caring for the splendour of great deeds, nor striving for glory, I shall be satisfied if it be one day said of my rule, that it was beneficial to my people, useful to my country, and a blessing to the Empire."

It is melancholy to reflect that the good Emperor's last few months of life were embittered by other incidents besides personal suffering. For one thing, Bismarck bitterly opposed the proposed betrothal of the Emperor's daughter, the Princess Victoria, to Prince Alexander of Battenberg, ex-Prince of Bulgaria, and it had to be abandoned. The Emperor would not give way, however, in the matter of Herr von Puttkamer, a reactionary Minister, whose policy was repugnant to Frederick, and he had to go, notwithstanding the Chancellor's efforts to retain him. There were and had been many differences between the Emperor and Bismarck, owing to his Majesty's Liberal ideas. Fortunately, the sagacity and firmness of Queen Victoria, who had a long interview with Bismarck during her visit to Berlin, made a deep impression upon him, and removed the danger of a deplorable conflict between the dying Emperor and his powerful Chancellor.

## Bismarck

On the 15th of June, 1888, the Emperor Frederick passed away, amid the lamentations of many in other lands besides his own, who had learnt to appreciate his many excellences and his true nobility of character.



## CHAPTER V

### *RETIREMENT AND DEATH*

WILLIAM II. had not long ascended the throne before he made it manifest that his principles of government were more in accordance with those of his grandfather than his father. The Divine Right of Kings was the first, second, nay, even the third article of his political creed, and the people and the State were very subordinate things compared with himself. His imperious will soon dominated everything and everybody.

The young Emperor had been trained to a knowledge of State affairs by Bismarck himself, for his own purposes. The Chancellor believed that when his pupil came to the throne he would be docile in his hands, and that the management of affairs would be left with the old servant of his grandfather; in fact, he expected to be master, as he had practically been for a generation past. But a sad awakening was in store for him. Bismarck continued to spend the greater part of the year at Friedrichsruhe or Varzin, confident in his own power, and failing to

## Bismarck

realize for a time that he was too far away from the scene of action to exercise due control upon the restless and adventurous monarch. Moreover, as the Chancellor had enemies, he left the field open for their intrigues. The young Emperor's keen interest in public affairs at length began to appear to Bismarck like an intrusion into his own sphere. On one occasion, in an important matter of foreign policy, the Chancellor declined to inform his Sovereign of the steps he intended to take until they could no longer be retraced; and it subsequently became known that he even withheld from the Emperor until just before his fall the real nature of the engagements he had secretly contracted with Russia. Besides this, master and pupil were too much alike in their masterful natures to remain long in harmony, though Bismarck was slow to perceive this, considering his shrewdness generally in the reading of character.

The first serious breach between Emperor and Chancellor arose in the autumn of 1888. The Emperor discovered amongst documents sent to him from Friedrichsruhe for formal signature one which was of the highest importance, giving authority for the prosecution of Herr Geffcken, who had published in the *Rundschan* the private diary of the late Emperor when Crown Prince. The Emperor never forgot what he considered a gross attempt at deception, yet he himself was greatly to blame for allowing to be published a petition to himself from Bismarck, which contained calumnious charges against his own father, the Emperor Frederick.

## Heroes of the XIXth Century

Matters, however, went on for some time without open rupture, until the whole world was startled by the news that the Chancellor had placed his resignation in the hands of the Emperor on the 17th of March, 1890. Reduced to serious Parliamentary straits by the result of the recent general election, Bismarck had been driven to contemplate the possibility of reopening relations with the Ultramontanes, who held the balance in the new Reichstag. The Emperor requested explanations, but the Chancellor refused to give them. He said that Dr. Windthorst's visit to him had been a private one, and the Emperor's authority did not extend to the Chancellor's drawing-room. A yet more serious difference arose in connection with Bismarck's insistence upon a rigid observance of the Cabinet Order of 1852, directing Ministers to report to the Crown solely through the medium of the President of the Prussian Council of Ministers. This the Emperor resented as an interference with his right to consult his official advisers when and as he pleased. The final and irreparable breach, however, came through questions of foreign policy. As Bismarck held in his hands all the tangled threads of European diplomacy, he thought that his Imperial master would never dare to disentangle them without his assistance. There was a somewhat stormy interview between them, and the last words exchanged between Kaiser and Chancellor were spoken in English. At the close of a long discussion, Bismarck rose and said, "Then I am in your way, sir?" The Emperor answered, "Yes." And from

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that moment the Chancellor was destined to learn that no man in this world is indispensable. But the blow must have been bitter. There was fault on both sides: the Emperor was abrupt and not sufficiently considerate; and Bismarck presumed too much upon his old position and power.

Bismarck returned to his palace, but only to prepare for finally vacating it. All that the Emperor could do publicly to lessen the mortification of that hour was done with an unstinting hand. A grateful country had already conferred upon the fallen Chancellor almost all the splendid rewards which it could bestow; but when the Emperor now conferred upon him the title of Duke of Lauenburg, and the rank of General of Cavalry in the army, accompanied by an autograph letter of the most flattering nature, Bismarck was too wounded to take them in the right spirit, and he described all these honours as a "first-class funeral." The memorable scene of the Chancellor's departure from Berlin was thus graphically described by the special correspondent of *The Times* :—

"Thousands upon thousands had crowded to the Wilhelm-Strasse to catch a final and a farewell glimpse of the great statesman who was to leave the spot where his mighty spirit had ruled and brooded so long. Prince Bismarck had spent the last few days in paying and receiving farewell calls, and among the most interesting of the former was a drive to Charlottenburg. The ex-Chancellor had already taken personal leave of all the royal Princes, but on

## Heroes of the XIXth Century

Friday there still remained one member of the Hohenzollern family to whom he owed his *devoir*, and this was the Emperor—King William I., now lying in marble state beside his royal parents in the mausoleum at Charlottenburg.

“Quietly driving out here towards the gloaming, the Chancellor entered the solitary vault, and laid a few roses on the tomb of the monarch whom he had served so long and nobly, and loved so well. Sad and overpowering must have been his thoughts as, rising from his knees, he took a final farewell of the man whom he made an Emperor, and who had kept his vow to cling to him to the last. That was a touching farewell ; but a more overwhelming leave-taking still awaited the Prince, when, in his accustomed Cuirassier uniform, with his son, Count Herbert, at his side, and his wife and daughter and their son in a carriage following, he left the Radziwill Palace and began his progress through the densely-crowded and excited streets to the Lehrter station, here to take train for Friedrichsruhe.

“As if the funeral of some great and deep-mourned man were afoot, Berlin had poured out all the best elements in its population to weep and wildly wave their hats and handkerchiefs, to scatter flowers, and to struggle to shake and kiss the hand of the man who was about to pass from their midst and be lost to them. This is not the language of exaggeration, but the sober record of incidents which I saw with my own eyes. I have never seen so respectable a crowd in Berlin, which contained none

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of the usual constituents of a mob, but was recruited from all the best circles in Berlin society, especially the official world ; nor could I have believed that so severe and sombre a class of people could ever betray so much downright emotion.

“It was only with the utmost difficulty that the mounted constables escorting the Chancellor’s open carriage could cleave a passage for it through the encompassing throngs of those who pushed towards him to offer him the choicest of spring flowers, and seize his hand to shake or kiss it. It was no wonder that all this spontaneous demonstration of popular devotion almost unmanned its object, and made the man of blood and iron almost melt into tears. This was the scene which presented itself all along the Prince’s route between his forsaken palace and the railway station. In they burst, and packed themselves on the platform around and behind the dismounted squadron of Cuirassiers which, with standard and trumpets, had been sent by the Emperor to act as a guard of honour to the departing Prince, who, it must be remembered, carries with him into his rural retirement the rank of General-Oberst of Cavalry and Field-Marshal General.

“But, in addition to this unusual guard of honour, the Emperor had also sent his personal aides-de-camp with his final adieux, accompanied by a magnificent device in flowers. The high officials formed the nucleus of a brilliant crowd of all that was foremost in the official world of Berlin—all the Ministers and Ambassadors, including those of England and

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France, and the whole array of those who had ever owned the Chancellor as friend, or master, or hero, or all three in one. Every one sought to get a final word with him, or, at the very least, to press his hand ; but in the midst of all this overflowing emotion and enthusiasm it was too much to expect anything like appropriate or coherent answers from the Prince, who really looked as if, for the very first time in his life, he had fairly lost his head.

“ Cheer after cheer, each louder and more thrilling than the other, went up and made the vaulted station ring, as the Prince showed himself at the window of his carriage, or in converse with some friend. In the intervals of the cheering the crowd struck up the ‘ Wacht am Rhein,’ or ‘ Deutschland, Deutschland uber Alles.’ At last the excitement reached its culmination when the whistle shrieked the signal for departure, and when, amid a final salvo of frantic cheers, blended with the sound of the Cuirassiers’ trumpets, the train slowly steamed out of the station, Prince Bismarck shaking hands from the window all the while. Then the crowd slowly dispersed, and as some of its members neared the Brandenburger Thor they encountered the young Emperor placidly trotting home from his afternoon ride in the Thiergarten.”

After Bismarck’s fall, the breach unfortunately widened between himself and the Emperor. The latter was indiscreet in various ways, which wounded the late Chancellor to the quick ; and Bismarck retaliated in his privacy at Friedrichsruhe, by



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imparting to the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, indiscreet revelations, tended to embarrass General Caprivi and Prince Hohenlohe. The Emperor now endeavoured, but in vain, to conciliate the old Chancellor. To add to his disappointments and trials, Bismarck soon experienced another deep sorrow by the death of his wife, to whom he was devotedly attached.

For some years bodily ailments, intensified by facial neuralgia, made Bismarck's nights sleepless and his temper irritable. Life was a burden to him, until at last final relief came, and he died at Friedrichsruhe, on the 30th of July, 1898, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. The news of his death caused spontaneous and universal sorrow, for even those who most differed from him knew that "a great man had fallen in Israel."

Immediately after the ex-Chancellor's death, Dr. Moritz Busch, who had for many years been his confidential secretary, published the text of his resignation eight years before. The following was the concluding passage in this document :—

"In view of my attachment to the service of the Imperial House and to your Majesty, and after having accustomed myself to the habit of years to circumstances which I had hitherto considered to be permanent, it is very painful to me to abandon my old relations to your Majesty and to the whole policy of the Empire and of Prussia. But after scrupulous consideration of the intentions of your Majesty, which I should have to be prepared to execute if I remained in office, I can do nothing but humbly

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beg your Majesty graciously to relieve me of the offices of Imperial Chancellor, of Minister-President, and of Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs with the statutory pension. From the impressions I have received during the last few weeks, and from the information conveyed to me yesterday in the communications emanating from the civil and military Cabinets of your Majesty, I may humbly assume that by tendering my resignation I am complying with the desires of your Majesty, and that I may safely count upon its being graciously accepted. I should have long ago tendered the resignation of my offices to your Majesty had I not laboured under the impression that your Majesty desired to make use of the experience and abilities of a faithful servant of your predecessors. Now that I know that your Majesty has no longer any use for these, I may retire from political life without any apprehension that my resolution will be judged inopportune by public opinion."

The funeral service for Prince Bismarck was held in the death-chamber at Friedrichsruhe on the 2nd of August. It was attended by the Emperor, who afterwards addressed the following proclamation to the Imperial Chancellor, which was published in the *Imperial Gazette*:—

"With my exalted allies, and with the whole German people, I stand in mourning at the bier of the first Chancellor of the German Empire, Prince Otto von Bismarck, Duke of Lauenburg. We who

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were witnesses of his splendid activity, we who looked up to him with admiration as the master of statecraft, as the fearless champion in war as in peace, as the most devoted son of his fatherland, and as the most faithful servant of his Emperor and King, are profoundly moved by the death of the man in whom God the Lord created the instrument for the realization of the immortal idea of Germany's unity and greatness. This is not the time to enumerate all the deeds which he wrought for the Emperor and the Empire—all the successes which he achieved. They are too mighty and manifold, and history alone can and will engrave them all on her brazen tablets. I, however, am constrained to give expression before the world to the unanimous sorrow and to the grateful admiration with which the whole nation is filled to-day, and in the name of the nation to register the vow to maintain and complete the edifice which he, the great Chancellor, constructed under the Emperor William the Great, and, if need be, to defend it with our life and fortune. So help us God the Lord. I enjoin you to make this my edict public.

“WILLIAM, I.R.”

As a statesman, Bismarck is one of the greatest figures in German history. Though imperious, he was yet prudent, and he was accustomed to boast that he had opened up a new era in diplomacy by always telling the truth. He had great faults, however, being jealous towards rivals, and vindictive and

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unscrupulous towards his foes. He was not an orator in the sense usually understood, but when the occasion was great he could wield the mother tongue with vigour. As the creator of modern Germany, he is an interesting link with the German elements of centuries ago. Clever and astute in seizing upon the national cause as a means of exalting Prussia in the scale of nations, he carried his country with him under a wave of patriotism to great ends. By establishing the independence of Germany he brought to maturity the fruits of the wars of liberation. His intellect seems to have been extraordinarily fitted for comprehending and calculating what was possible and useful; and he was never deterred by sentiment from pursuing his ends to their conclusion. His goal was ever before him, and it is the mark of the strong man never to lose sight of it through the intermediate difficulties. The Chancellor wielded a personal power in Europe which was without precedent in the nineteenth century. Men who themselves towered above the average frankly admitted it. In him was typified the Prussian race at its highest and strongest.

In private life he was a man of warm affections, his wife and children being always to him objects of the tenderest devotion. His letters to his wife show how happy and cloudless was his domestic horizon. In his intercourse with friends also, whenever he chose to unbend, he could be genial, witty, and entertaining. Like Lord Palmerston, he could be all things to all men, fraternizing with the humblest

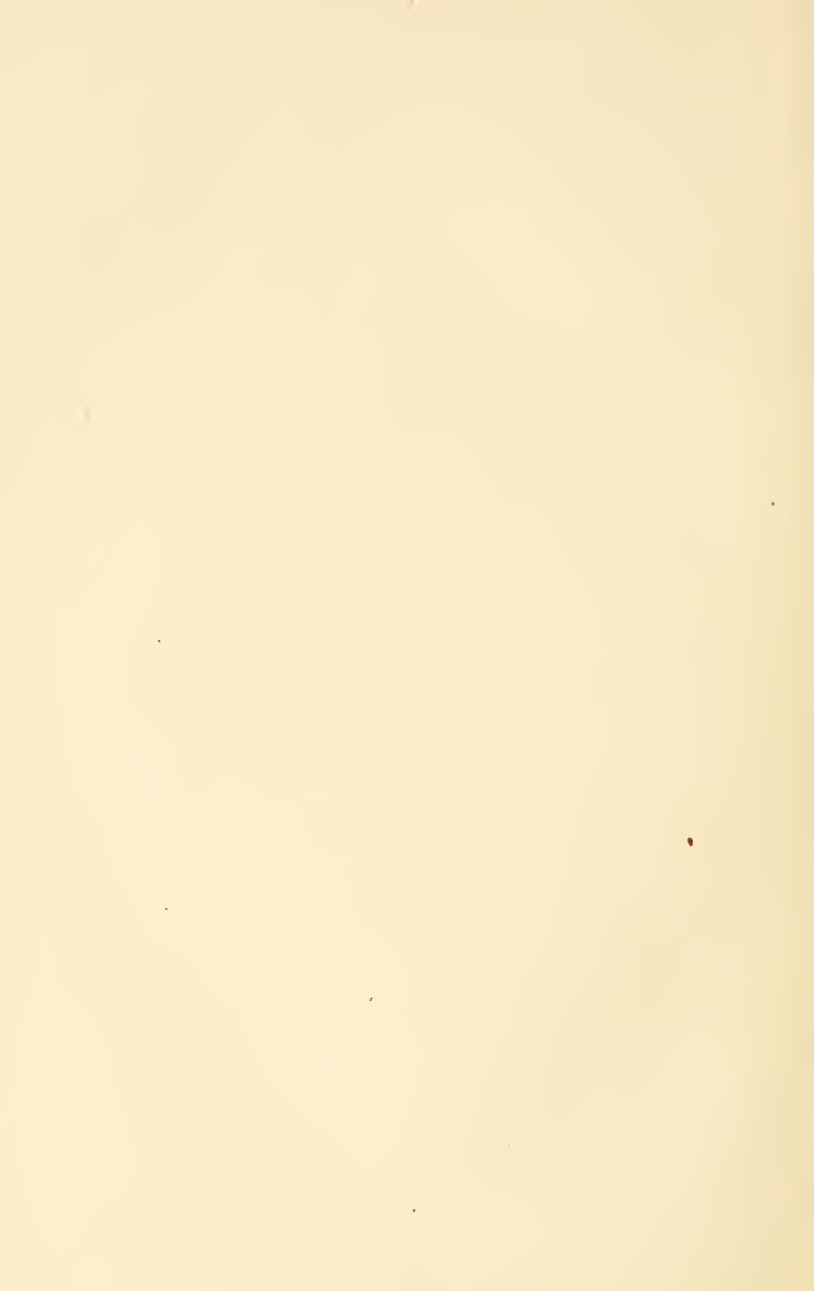
## Bismarck

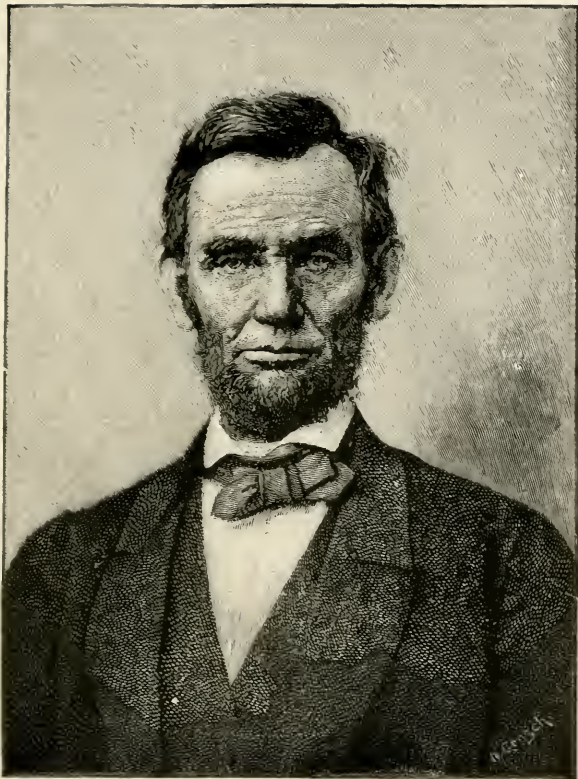
as well as the greatest. In whatever view he may be regarded, we see that he was made in a large mould ; and but for him his country might still have occupied a humble position in the scale of nations, instead of rising to be the most powerful Empire in Europe.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN







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## CHAPTER I

### *FROM THE FARM TO THE LEGISLATURE*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the emancipator of the slave, and one of the most striking figures in American history, was born at Rock Creek Farm, in Hardin County, Kentucky, on the 12th of February, 1809. His earliest ancestor in America was Samuel Lincoln, of Norwich, who emigrated from England and settled in Hingham, Massachusetts, where he died, leaving a son, Mordecai, whose son of the same name removed to Monmouth, New Jersey, and subsequently to Berks County, Pennsylvania, dying there in 1735. One of Mordecai's sons, John Lincoln, disposed of his land in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and established himself in Rockingham County, Virginia. He appears to have died possessed of a valuable estate, which was divided among five sons, one of whom, Abraham, migrated to Kentucky about the year 1781.

This Abraham Lincoln was the grandfather of the future President. He was a friend of Daniel Boone, the distinguished pioneer of Kentucky, and

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it was owing to this friendship that Lincoln left a good home and position in Virginia to take part in the risks and hardships of life in the newly opened-up territory. The two families became closely allied by inter-marriages. Lincoln acquired by means of cash and land a large estate in Jefferson and Campbell Counties, Kentucky. He erected a log cabin near Bear Grass Fort, the site of the present city of Louisville. A few years after this, he was one day at work in the field, when he was waylaid, shot, and instantly killed by a party of Indians. Thomas Lincoln, Abraham's youngest son, and the father of the President, was in the field with his father when he fell; and Mordecai and Josiah, his elder brothers, were close by in the forest. One of Lincoln's biographers says that "Mordecai, startled by the shot, saw his father fall, and, running to the cabin, seized the loaded rifle, rushed to one of the loopholes cut through the logs of the cabin, and saw the Indian who had fired; he had just seized the boy Thomas, and was running towards the forest. Pointing the rifle through the logs, and aiming at a silver medal on the breast of the Indian, Mordecai fired. The Indian fell; and the boy, springing to his feet, ran to the open arms of his mother at the cabin door. Meanwhile Josiah, who had run to the fort for aid, returned with a party of settlers, who brought in the body of Abraham Lincoln and the Indian who had been shot. From this time throughout his life Mordecai was the mortal enemy of the Indians,

## Lincoln

and, it is said, sacrificed many in revenge for the murder of his father."

After the tragic death of her husband, Mrs. Lincoln removed to Washington County, and there brought up her family. The two elder sons became useful citizens, and the two daughters married into a comfortable condition of life. Thomas, the youngest son, was not so enterprising as his brothers, neither does he seem to have had the qualities which command worldly success. He married, however, in 1806, Nancy Hanks, a young woman of appearance and intellect superior to her humble fortunes. She was described as a brunette, with dark hair, regular features, and soft, sparkling, hazel eyes. Thomas and his wife settled on Rock Creek Farm, and there the subject of our biographical sketch was born, as already stated. He had an elder sister, named Sarah, and there was a younger brother, Thomas; who died in infancy. Mrs. Lincoln taught her husband, as well as her son Abraham, to read and write. She was a woman of deep religious feeling and strong affections. Her home exhibited a degree of taste and beauty quite exceptional in the wild settlements; and yet she could also kill the wild game of the woods, dress it and cook it, and make of the skins clothes for her family. She was a strong, self-reliant woman, who commanded both the respect and affection of all who knew her. Unfortunately, she died prematurely in 1818, at the age of thirty-five years.

Thomas Lincoln afterwards married Sarah Bush

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Johnston, a worthy, industrious, and intelligent woman, a widow. Though Abraham Lincoln said of his own mother, "All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother," he yet appreciated the kind care and solicitude of his father's second wife, who brought into the home much domestic happiness. But the life in Kentucky was very rough and uncivilized.

In an autobiographical sketch of himself and his early surroundings, the President wrote in 1859: "It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond 'readin', writin', and cipherin'' to the rule of three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin ever sojourned in the neighbourhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the rule of three; but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity."

Men of genius and determination, however, master circumstances, and are not mastered by them. So young Lincoln made the most of all his scanty opportunities, and he read over and over again all the books that he could get hold of. By way of purchasing a *Life of Washington* he pulled corn for three days. At the plough and with the



## Lincoln

rifle he was quite an adept. From boyhood he was accustomed to put in writing his recollections of what he read, and impressions of what he saw. At nineteen he wrote a clear and serviceable hand, and showed sufficient business capacity to be entrusted with a cargo of farm products, which he took to New Orleans and advantageously disposed of. In 1830 Thomas Lincoln once more migrated, and settled in Macon County, Illinois. Abraham this year attained his majority. He had attained the extraordinary stature of six feet four inches, but was of spare build, with little superfluous flesh. He possessed enormous muscular strength, which his father found very useful in building his cabin, clearing the field, and splitting from the walnut forests—which were very plentiful in that region—the rails with which the farm was fenced. Once more, however, the Lincoln family “folded its tents like the Arabs,” and this time found itself transplanted to Goose Nest Prairie, in Coles County. This was the last change for Thomas Lincoln, who died there in 1851, at the age of seventy-three, having been affectionately tended in his closing days by his son.

Soon after the family had settled at Goose Nest Prairie, Abraham Lincoln left home, and engaged himself to one Denton Offutt in Sangamon County. He assisted Offutt in building a flat boat, on which he accompanied him to New Orleans on a trading voyage, returning with him to New Salem, in Menard County, where Offutt opened a store for the sale of

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general merchandize. The venture was not successful financially, but it was here that Lincoln acquired the sobriquet of "Honest Abe," on account of his uprightness and strict integrity. His leisure Lincoln employed in diligent study, mastering the elements of English grammar, gaining experience in surveying, and applying himself to the understanding of the principles of law.

Early in 1832 great alarm prevailed in Northern Illinois on account of the Black Hawk war. That Indian chief had returned with his bands of Sacs and Foxes from Iowa. A volunteer company was raised in Sangamon County, and Lincoln was immediately elected captain. The company was organized at Richland on the 21st of April, but, having served for little over a month, it was disbanded. Another call being made, however, Lincoln re-enlisted as a private, and served for several weeks in that capacity, being ultimately released from service on the 16th of June, 1832, by Lieutenant Robert Anderson, who afterwards commanded Fort Sumter at the beginning of the Civil War. Lincoln returned home, and began a hasty canvass for election to the State Legislature. Only ten days intervened before the election. Lincoln made a good fight for it, and, though defeated, he received every vote in his own district save three. The employment question now became serious with him, and at one time he thought of turning blacksmith; but an opportunity offering for purchasing the only store in the settlement, he embraced it. It was an unfortunate venture, however, for he was



LINCOLN'S EARLY HOME.



## Lincoln

associated with an idle and dissolute partner. The business was wrecked, and Lincoln was left to meet the liabilities. This he ultimately did to the last penny, but it took him six years to get clear.

In 1833 Lincoln was appointed post-master at New Salem, an office which he held for three years. The emoluments were very small, but he had leisure to pursue the study of law, which he had taken up with great earnestness. He also received some small pecuniary aid from the office of deputy to John Calhoun, the county surveyor, to which he had been appointed. Again he turned his attention to the Legislature, and in August, 1834, was elected at the head of the list. Re-elected in 1836, 1838, and 1840, after the last-named year he declined further election. During this period there was a romantic passage in his career, and he became engaged to a beautiful girl named Anne Rutledge. They were to be married as soon as he should be admitted to the Bar of the Supreme Court; but Miss Rutledge died in August, 1835. Her beauty and attractions, and her early death at the age of twenty-two, made a deep impression upon her lover.

When he entered the Legislature Lincoln left New Salem, and removed to Springfield, where he went into partnership with John T. Stuart, a lawyer, whose acquaintance he had made in the Black Hawk war, and continued at Vandalia. From the first Lincoln took rank among the leading members of the Legislature. Though not an orator, he was a most effective speaker. His clear, concise,

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Anglo-Saxon style was scarcely equalled by any American writer or speaker, and his humour was swift and keen. His speeches abound in short, striking, and epigrammatic utterances. Amongst other things achieved by Lincoln, he was instrumental in having the State capital removed from Vandalia to Springfield. During his eight years of service his ability, industry, and sterling character gained him such standing among his associates that in his last two terms he was the candidate of his party for the Speakership of the House of Representatives.

Some interesting anecdotes of Lincoln's early life and character were given by his friend, Joshua F. Speed, in the *Lincoln Memorial Album*. Speaking of his entry into Springfield, Speed says :—

“He rode into town on a borrowed horse, without earthly goods but a pair of saddle-bags, two or three law books, and some clothing in his saddle-bags. He came into my store, set his saddle-bags on the counter, and said—

“‘Speed, tell me what the furniture for a single bedroom will cost.’

“I took my pencil, figured it up, and found it would cost seventeen dollars. Lincoln replied—

“‘It is cheap enough, but I want to say, cheap as it is, I have not the money to pay. But if you will credit me until Christmas, and my experiment here is a success, I will pay you then. If I fail, I will probably never be able to pay you.’

“The voice was so melancholy, I felt for him.”

Lincoln was evidently suffering from one of

## Lincoln

his fits of depression and sadness. Speed kindly replied—

“I have a very large double bed, which you are perfectly welcome to share with me, if you choose.”

“Where is your bed?” said Lincoln.

“Upstairs,” replied Speed.

He took his saddle-bags on his arm, went upstairs, placed them on the floor, and came down laughing, saying—

“Speed, I am moved.”

The ludicrous idea of “moving” all his goods and chattels by taking his saddle-bags upstairs made him as mirthful as he had been melancholy.

From that time on Springfield was his home, until when, twenty-three years thereafter, he left his humble residence to occupy the White House as President of the United States. He and Speed took their meals with William Butler, a mutual friend, and afterwards Treasurer of the State of Illinois. In a short time, by his close application and industry, and by his association with Stuart, he had a good practice, and attended Courts in all the counties near Springfield.

We are indebted to Mr. Speed for another incident illustrating his kindness of heart. Lincoln and the other members of the Bar from the capital had been attending Court at Christiansburg, and Speed was riding with them towards Springfield. He tells us that there was quite a party of these lawyers, riding, two by two, along a country lane. Lincoln and John J. Hardin brought up the rear of the cavalcade.

“We had passed through a thicket of wild plum



## Heroes of the XIXth Century

and crab-apple trees, and stopped to water our horses. Hardin came up alone.

“‘Where is Lincoln?’ we inquired.

“‘Oh,’ replied he, ‘when I saw him last he had caught two young birds, which the wind had blown out of their nest, and he was hunting the nest to put them back.’

“In a short time Lincoln came up, having found the nest and placed the young birds in it.

“The party laughed at him, but he said: ‘I could not have slept if I had not restored those little birds to their mother.’”

The act was characteristic, and illustrates a tenderness of heart which never failed him. To that tenderness in after-life many a mother appealed in behalf of a wayward son, and rarely in vain.

Few as had been Lincoln’s advantages, his determination and perseverance were such that he became one of the ablest lawyers and advocates in the United States. From 1839 to 1860 he was in constant practice before the State and Federal Courts of Illinois, and he was frequently called upon special retainers into other States. During his boyhood Lincoln had been heard to say, not in jest, but with all seriousness, “I shall be some day President of the United States.” Yet even after he had served in the State Legislature this saying seemed scarcely possible of fulfilment, except, of course, that it is possible for any citizen of the United States to become head of the State, just as it was possible that every soldier in Napoleon’s army carried a marshal’s baton in his knapsack.

## CHAPTER II

### *THE STATESMAN MATURING*

THE speeches of Lincoln during what we may call his preparation period were all instinct with life, truth, fervour, whether delivered on temperance, political, or other subjects. He was an ardent lover of liberty and of his country; and in one address, which now reads like a prophecy, he exclaimed: "Here, before Heaven, and in the face of the world, I swear eternal fidelity to the just cause of the land of my life, my liberty, and my love. The cause approved of our judgment and our hearts, in disaster, in chains, in death, we never falter in defending."

The partnership of Lincoln and Stuart terminated in April, 1841, and Lincoln entered into a new partnership with Judge Stephen T. Logan, one of the ablest and most successful lawyers of the State. At this time Lincoln was engaged in marriage to Mary Todd, whose family were influential pioneers in Kentucky and Illinois. She had come from Lexington on a visit to a sister at Springfield, and

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became engaged to Lincoln. She was a bright, clever woman, and as a consequence of some smart articles she wrote, which gave great offence to an irascible Irishman named Shields, Lincoln received a challenge to a duel. Matters were satisfactorily explained, however, and the affair passed over without a fight. Lincoln married Mary Todd on the 4th of November, 1842. At first they boarded in a Springfield hotel, but in 1844 Lincoln purchased a small but comfortable house, in which he and his family lived until his election as President and his removal to Washington. In 1843 the partnership between Logan and Lincoln was dissolved, and the latter entered into another with a young lawyer, William H. Herndon.

Lincoln was elected to Congress in 1846, his Democratic opponent being the Rev. Peter Cartwright, the backwoods preacher. He entered the House as leader of the Whig party in Illinois, and with the reputation of being an able and effective popular speaker. One of his contemporaries said, that "for shrewdness and sagacity, and keen practical sense, he had no superior in our day and generation." Lincoln always riveted the attention of the House, having original ways of thought and speech. The most important act of Lincoln in Congress was the introduction of a Bill to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, but it was fiercely opposed by the representatives of the slave States, and he could not even get a vote upon it. His term as member of Congress expired on the 4th of March, 1849, and he

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was not a candidate for re-election. For the first and only time in his life he now sought an executive appointment, the Commissionership of the General Land Office. It was given to a lawyer from Chicago, but President Taylor offered Lincoln the offices of Secretary and Governor of Oregon Territory, which he declined.

Between 1843 and 1853 four sons were born to Lincoln, the eldest of whom, Robert Todd, became a member of President Garfield's Cabinet. Not long after his retirement from Congress, Abraham Lincoln became the most influential exponent of the principles of the Whig party in Illinois, and his services were in request in every campaign. At the same time, he devoted himself with great assiduity to the practice of law, and soon gained a commanding position at the Bar. He rode through the circuit, and had a large practice, which might also have been very lucrative had not his fees been phenomenally small. He was losing his interest in politics, when suddenly the repeal of the Missouri Compromise caused him to come to the front again. His energies were further awakened during the profound agitation of the slavery question, which in 1854 followed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. As Colonel John Hay observes: "He regarded this act, in which Senator Douglas was the most prominent agent of the reactionary party, as a gross breach of faith, and began at once a series of earnest political discussions, which immediately placed him at the head of the party that, not only in Illinois, but throughout the west,

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was speedily formed to protest against and oppose the throwing open of the territories to the encroachments of slavery."

The Legislature of Illinois contained a majority of members opposed to the policy of Douglas. There was a vacancy for a Senator in place of General Shields, and Lincoln was the unanimous choice of the Whig or Republican members of the Legislature. There were four Democratic members, who, while they were ardently opposed to the extension of slavery, were unwilling to cast their votes for a Whig candidate, so they adhered tenaciously through several ballots to Lyman Trumbull, a Democrat holding their own views on slavery. As Lincoln feared that this dissension among the anti-slavery men might result in the election of a supporter of Douglas, he urged his friends to go over in a body to the support of Trumbull. His influence prevailed; Trumbull was elected, and for many years he ably advocated the Republican anti-slavery views in the Senate.

In May, 1856, the Republican party in the State of Illinois was organized on an anti-slavery basis, and it was joined by those Democrats who were opposed to the extension of slavery. It was Lincoln who suggested that they could all unite on the principles of the Declaration of Independence and hostility to the extension of slavery. The inaugural meeting was held at Bloomington, and Lincoln's speech to the Convention seems to have been a wonderful effort. "Never," said one of the delegates, "was an audience more completely electrified by human eloquence.

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Again and again, during the delivery, the audience sprang to their feet, and by long-continued cheers expressed how deeply the speaker had roused them." It was now by general consent that Lincoln took his natural place at the head of his party in Illinois. The effects of this new policy were soon apparent ; for in 1858, when Senator Douglas sought re-election to the Senate, the Republicans unanimously selected Lincoln as his antagonist. The time was one of great excitement, for judgment had just been given in the Dred Scott slave case. Scott had been claimed as a slave in a free State. When the case came before the Supreme Court, two judges declared for his freedom, and five against it—a decision which caused universal dissatisfaction in the free States. The friends of freedom had before this indignantly denounced the Nebraska Bill, introduced by Douglas, and containing a provision which broke down the prohibition against slavery. The Bill had been carried against strong opposition.

Lincoln was now pitted against Douglas, and when the latter returned to Illinois to begin his canvass for the Senate, he was challenged by Lincoln to a series of public discussions. The challenge was accepted, and the most remarkable oratorical duel ever witnessed in the State took place during the summer of 1858. Douglas was a brilliant man, and he defended his thesis of non-intervention with slavery in the territories—the doctrine known as "popular sovereignty," but condemned as "squatter sovereignty"—with much dialectical skill and energy.

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Lincoln, on the other hand, took higher and bolder ground than had yet been assumed by any statesman of his time. In the brief speech in which he accepted the championship of his party, at the Republican Convention of the 16th of June, he uttered these prophetic words: "A House divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the House to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all the one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, north as well as south." The timid amongst his own friends were alarmed by this bold utterance, which laid the speaker open to the attacks of the supporters of slavery; yet all through the contest he declined for an instant to lower his lofty tone of opposition to slavery and his hope of its extinction; and he refused to be cowed either by the fears of his friends or the denunciations of his foes from the strictly constitutional ground which he had taken up.

The debates between the two redoubtable antagonists aroused extraordinary interest throughout the State and the country. The orators were equally matched; but while Douglas carried away the more



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popular applause, Lincoln made the deeper and more lasting impression. Lincoln could at any time have stirred the people to enthusiasm by his witty illustrations and amusing stories, but when he was appealed to by his friends he said, "This occasion is too serious; the issues are too grave. I do not seek applause, or to amuse the people, but to convince them." The most important debate took place at Freeport. At previous discussions Douglas had asked Lincoln a series of questions intended to embarrass him, but which he had answered without the least reserve, and with a categorical yes or no. Lincoln now took his turn at Freeport, and inquired of Douglas whether the people of a territory could in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution. In his reply, Douglas intimated that slavery might be excluded by unfriendly territorial legislation. This admission gained Douglas a momentary advantage in the anti-slavery region in which he spoke, but it dealt a fatal blow to his popularity in the south, the result of which was apparent two years afterwards at the Charleston Convention. The ground assumed by Douglas was indeed utterly untenable, and this was shown by Lincoln in one of his pithy utterances. "Judge Douglas holds," he said, "that a thing may lawfully be driven away from a place where it has a lawful right to go."

Lincoln carried a majority of the popular vote, but he was again baffled in obtaining the position of

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Senator, as the attitude of a number of Democrats from States now admittedly Republican enabled Douglas to control a small majority of the Legislature, and to secure his re-election. But the debates had established the reputation of Lincoln as one of the leading orators of the Republican party of the Union; and a speech which he delivered at Cooper Institute, in New York, on the 27th of February, 1860—in which he showed that the unbroken record of the founders of the Republic was in favour of the restriction of slavery and against its extension—widened and confirmed his reputation. Cullen Bryant, the poet, presided at this great meeting, and Horace Greeley wrote of the reception of Lincoln: "No man has been welcomed by such an audience of the intellect and mental culture of our city since the days of Clay and Webster."

The time was now at hand when Lincoln was to realize the great ambition of his life.

## CHAPTER III

### *ELECTED PRESIDENT*

ALMOST two years before the Presidential election of 1860, Lincoln's friends had pointed him out as the most suitable candidate for the Republican nomination. He himself discouraged the idea, urging that he was not well enough known, and that it was only just to choose such a man as Seward or Chase. His friends, however, replied that there was no candidate who could so thoroughly unite the party as he could. Objections of some kind could be raised against all other candidates, whereas he was distinctly identified with the simple issue of opposing the extension of slavery.

At the close of 1859 the feeling in favour of his nomination had become so general that Lincoln allowed his friends to take such steps as they deemed expedient to bring him forward. After this came his address at the Cooper Institute, which still further solidified Republican feeling in his favour. The Democrats were the first to meet for the nomination of their candidate. They met at Charleston in April,

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1860, but the Convention broke up after numerous fruitless ballotings, and split up into two sections. The southern half, unable to trust Douglas with the interests of slavery after his Freeport speech, adjourned to Richmond, but again joined the other half at Baltimore, where a second disruption took place, after which the southern half nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, while the northern portion nominated Douglas. The so-called Constitutional Union party nominated a candidate of their own, John Bell, of Tennessee.

The Republican Convention met at Chicago on the 16th of May. In first stating its platform, the Convention resolved "that the new dogma that the Constitution carried slavery into all the territories was a dangerous political heresy, revolutionary in tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country ; that the normal condition of all the territories is that of freedom ; that neither Congress, the territorial legislature, nor any individual could give legal existence to slavery ; that Kansas ought to be immediately admitted as a free State ; and that the opening of the slave trade would be a crime against humanity." The Convention further declared in favour of a homestead law, harbour and river improvements, and the Pacific railroad.

The principal candidates before the Convention for nomination for the Presidency were—William H. Seward, of New York ; Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois ; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio ; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania ; and Edward Bates, of Missouri. But

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it soon became evident that the contest lay between Seward and Lincoln. Seward, who was Governor of New York, had a long and distinguished record as a statesman. He was the enlightened advocate of liberty, a lover of humanity, and a much more conspicuous, as well as more cultured man than Lincoln. But his very virtues and general superiority over his fellows had created for him jealous and hostile rivals amongst his own party. On the other hand, "Honest old Abe, the rail-splitter of Illinois," was a strong and popular candidate, who had no enemies, and who represented, on clear and unmistakable lines, the great cause which every Republican had at heart. Although there was considerable excitement on the slavery question, no member of the Convention could possibly have had the least foreshadowing fear how soon the Union would be in danger ; yet there was something Providential in the forthcoming selection of Lincoln, as the sequel proved.

On the first ballot Seward received  $173\frac{1}{2}$  votes to 102 for Lincoln ; the others being divided on Cameron, Chase, Bates, and others. On the second ballot Seward received 184 and Lincoln 181. On the third ballot there was a majority for Lincoln, and his nomination was made unanimous. During the sittings of the Convention, the successful candidate remained quietly at his home in Springfield.

When the result of the last ballot nominating him as Republican candidate for the Presidency was made known to Lincoln, he was in the office of the *Sangamon Journal* at Springfield. After perusing

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the telegram, he read it aloud, and then, without stopping to receive the congratulations of his friends, he said : " There is a little woman down at our house who will like to hear this. I'll go down and tell her." He knew that she was far more anxious that he should be President than he was, and this little incident eloquently revealed the affectionate relations between husband and wife.

At Chicago and a hundred other places the cry rang out, " Fire the salute—Lincoln is nominated ! " A hundred thousand voters in Illinois and the neighbouring States were soon shouting for joy. Indeed, the nomination of Lincoln was hailed with extraordinary enthusiasm through the length and breadth of the free States. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, had secured the Republican nomination as Vice-President.

" This Presidential campaign has had no parallel," says Isaac N. Arnold in his *Life of Lincoln*. " The enthusiasm of the people was like a great conflagration, like a prairie fire before a wild tornado. A little more than twenty years had passed since Owen Lovejoy, brother of Elijah Lovejoy, on the bank of the Mississippi, kneeling on the turf not then green over the grave of the brother who had been killed for his fidelity to freedom, had sworn eternal war against slavery. From that time on, he and his associate abolitionists had gone forth preaching their crusade against oppression, with hearts of fire and tongues of lightning, and now the consummation was to be realized of a President elected on the distinct

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grounds of opposition to the extension of slavery. For years the hatred of that institution had been growing and gathering force. Whittier, Bryant, Lowell, Longfellow, and others had written the lyrics of liberty ; the graphic pen of Mrs. Stowe, in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, had painted the cruelties of the overseer and the slaveholder ; but the acts of slaveholders themselves did more to promote the growth of anti-slavery than all other causes. The persecution of abolitionists in the south ; the harshness and cruelty attending the execution of the fugitive slave laws ; the brutality of Brooks in knocking down on the floor of the Senate Charles Sumner for words spoken in debate ; these and many other outrages had fired the hearts of the people of the free States against this barbarous institution. Beecher, Phillips, Channing, Sumner, and Seward, with their eloquence ; Chase, with his logic ; Lincoln, with his appeals to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and to the opinions of the founders of the Republic, his clear statements, his apt illustrations, above all, his wise moderation—all had swelled the voice of the people, which found expression through the ballot-box, and which declared that slavery should go no further. It was now proclaimed that 'the further spread of slavery should be arrested, and it should be placed where the public mind should rest in the belief of its ultimate extinction.' A most remarkable feature of the campaign was the personal canvass made by Douglas. This was almost the only instance in which a Presidential candidate had taken the stump in his



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own behalf. The division in the Democratic party must have destroyed any hope on his part of success ; yet he made a personal canvass, displaying all the vigour, and spirit, and eloquence for which he was so distinguished. He spoke in most of the free, and in many of the slave States, and his appeals were against Breckinridge on one side, and Lincoln on the other, as representing sectionalism, while he assumed that he carried the banner of the Union. If the efforts of any one man could have changed the result, his would have changed it, but they were in vain. Lincoln received 180 electoral votes, and a popular vote of 1,866,452. Douglas received 12 electoral votes, and 1,375,157 of the popular vote. Breckinridge received 72 electoral, and a popular vote of 847,953 ; and Bell 39 electoral votes, and 590,631 of the popular vote. By the success of Mr. Lincoln, the executive power of the country passed from the hands of the slaveholders. They had controlled the Government for much the larger portion of the time during which it had existed."

It became known throughout the Republic on the 7th of November, 1860, that Lincoln had been elected, but he could not be inaugurated until the 4th of March ensuing. The intervening period between these two dates was one of the most gloomy in the history of the United States. Even before Lincoln's election the extreme partisans of slavery in the South had made preparations for an insurrection ; and as soon as the result was declared a movement for separation was begun in South Carolina. Lincoln was firm and

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determined, however, and absolutely unyielding [on the question of slavery extension. By the 1st of February, 1861, seven slave States had seceded from the Union, namely—South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas. In an interview with the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Illinois, Lincoln said : “I know there is a God, and He hates injustice and slavery. I see the storm coming. I know that His hand is in it. If He has a place and work for me—and I think He has—I believe I am ready. I am nothing, but truth is everything. Douglas don’t care whether slavery is voted up or down, but God cares, and humanity cares, and I care ; and with God’s help I shall not fail. I may not see the end ; but it will come, and I shall be vindicated ; and these men will find that they have not read their Bible right. The future would be something awful, as I look at it, but for this Rock on which I stand.” And he pointed to a New Testament which he held in his hand. To the same interviewer Lincoln stated his belief in the duty and privilege and efficacy of prayer.

Delegates from the seceding States met in Convention at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 4th of February. A Provisional Government was organized, under which Jefferson Davis was chosen President, and Alexander H. Stephens Vice-President. Davis was a man of imperious temper and boundless personal ambition. As Secretary at War under President Pierce he had conducted the affairs of the War Department with a view to strengthen the slave

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States, in the eventuality of secession, or even of war ; and his favouring the repudiation by Mississippi of the bonds issued by that State brought disgrace upon the American character. It was he who opened the bloody tragedy of the Civil War by ordering the fire upon Fort Sumter ; and in a speech delivered on his way from Mississippi to Montgomery, to assume the Presidency of the Confederate States, he said : “ We will carry the war where it is easy to advance, where food for the sword and torch awaits our armies in the densely-populated cities.” With a man of this character it was obvious that there was little chance of a peaceable adjustment of difficulties. Had Stephens been President instead of Vice-President bloodshed might have been avoided. He was of a higher type than Davis, intellectually and morally, and had vigorously opposed secession, never thoroughly approving of it even when the step was taken.

The Houses of Congress met on the 15th of February, 1861, and when the chaplain invoked the blessing and protection of Almighty God upon the President elect, never was prayer more urgently needed, for there were many who believed that he would never live to witness his inauguration. When Lincoln left his home at Springfield on his journey to Washington there was a pathetic scene. As the President stepped upon the platform of the railroad carriage he uttered these beautiful and touching words :—

“ My friends : No one, not in my position, can realize the sadness I feel at this parting. To this

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people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century. Here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. I go to assume a task more difficult than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded but for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine blessing which sustained him; and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support. And I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again I bid you an affectionate farewell."

Responses came from many old neighbours: "God bless and keep you," "God save you from all traitors," his friends "sorrowing most of all" for the fear "that they should see his face no more." On his way to Washington, Lincoln passed through the great States of Indiana, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and was everywhere received with demonstrations of loyalty. But the city of Washington was surrounded by slave territory, and a plot was discovered to assassinate the President as he passed through Baltimore. Lincoln consequently went through the city earlier than the conspirators anticipated, and thus escaped the danger. He remained for one night at Harrisburg, where he met the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and visited old Independence Hall, where the Congress of the

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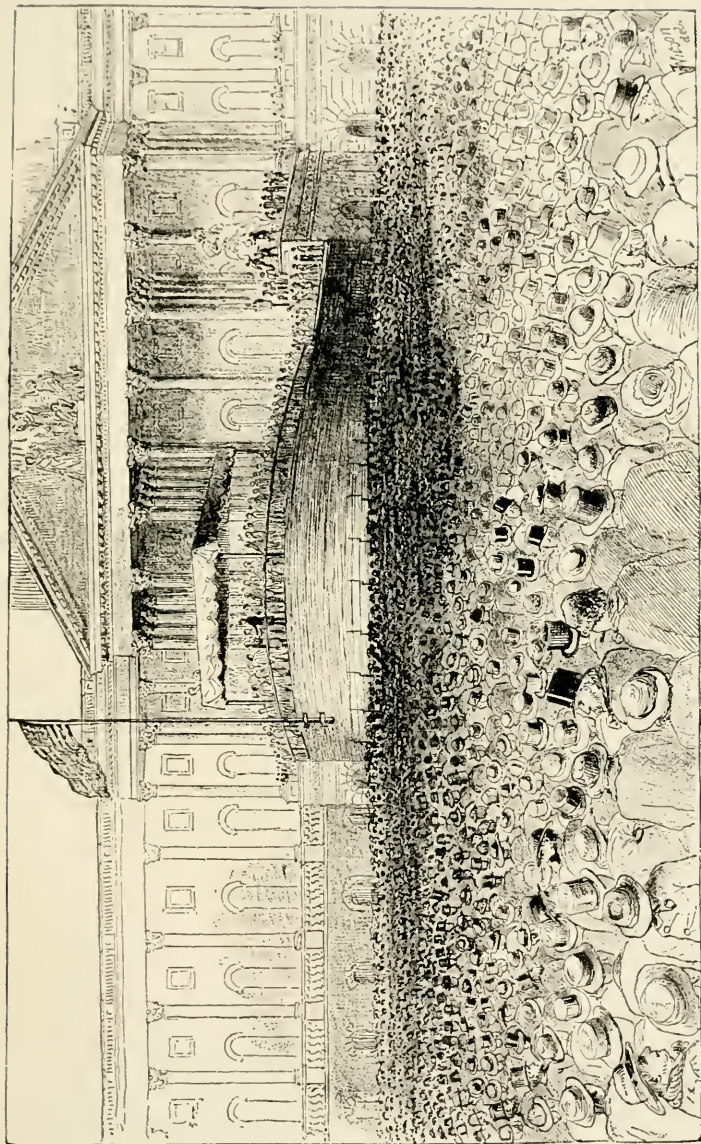
Revolution had adopted the Declaration of Independence. Arriving ultimately in safety at Washington, he was met by Seward and other friends.

On the 4th of March, 1861, Lincoln was solemnly inaugurated President of the United States, and there had been no such impressive ceremony at the Capitol since the inauguration of Washington. Thousands of citizens assembled before the magnificent eastern front of the Capitol. Amongst these, and in the public offices and departments, there were plotting traitors; but the President-elect, with his towering form, was perfectly calm and at ease, as he surveyed the surging crowd before him. Round him were members of the Senate and House of Representatives, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Diplomatic Corps, the high officers of the Army and the Navy, the leading statesmen of both parties, governors of States, and throngs of distinguished men from every section of the Union.

Lincoln read his inaugural address in the open air, and in a voice so clear and distinct that it could be heard by all the thirty thousand people who formed the assemblage. In this address, which now ranks as an important historical document, he made another earnest appeal for peace, on the very verge of civil war. The following are passages from the opening of the address:—

“Fellow citizens of the United States: In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the





LINCOLN'S FIRST INAUGURATION.





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Constitution of the United States, to be taken by the President 'before he enters upon the execution of his office.'

"Apprehension seems to exist, among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any real cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it now exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.' Those who nominated me and elected me did so with a full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and have never recanted them.

"I now reiterate those sentiments, and in so doing I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I hold that in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the *Union of the States is perpetual*. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. I therefore consider that, in view of

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the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability *I shall take care*, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States."

This last sentence the President pronounced with a clear and firm emphasis, which greatly impressed the vast audience. Continuing, Lincoln said :—

"In doing this there need be no bloodshed nor violence ; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, and occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts, but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

"Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence, and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this.

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise the constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended.

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"My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time ; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it. The new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him, who has never yet forsaken this favoured land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulties."

Lincoln treated the acts of secession as a nullity, and declared the Union to be perpetual and inviolate. His arguments against the legality, as well as the justice of the secession, were unanswerable, as well as his clear and convincing reasoning that peaceful secession was impossible. In closing this memorable address, the President said with equal solemnity and tenderness :—

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, are the momentous issues of civil war. The Government will not assail you.

"You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered

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in heaven to destroy the Government, while I have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies; though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection.

"The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

This inaugural address profoundly affected public opinion in the North; but in the South, where the aggressive spirits were in the ascendant and clamoured for war, it was met with defiance.

Lincoln went on his way, however, and now proceeded to form his Cabinet, whose members were selected from the anti-slavery parties of the nation, no preference being given to any special section. The Secretary of State, the most important member of the Executive next to the President, was William H. Seward, of New York, who had been Lincoln's principal rival for the nomination, and whose eminence and abilities well entitled him to the office of Secretary; the Secretary to the Treasury was Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, whose influence in the west was as great as Seward's in the east; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, the most important politician in that State, was Secretary at War; Gideon Welles, of

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Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy ; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior ; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, was Postmaster-General, and Edward Bates, of Missouri, Attorney-General—both men of great distinction of character and high standing as lawyers. During Lincoln's term of office the following modifications occurred in the Cabinet:—Secretary Chase, after a masterly administration of the finances, resigned in 1864, owing to personal reasons, and was succeeded by William P. Fessenden, of Maine ; Secretary Cameron left the War Department at the close of 1861, and was appointed Minister to Russia, his place being taken by Edwin M. Stanton, a War Democrat of great energy, ability, and devotion ; Secretary Smith, accepting a judgeship, gave way to John P. Usher, of Indiana ; Attorney-General Bates resigned in the last year of the administration, and was succeeded by James Speed, of Kentucky ; and Postmaster-General Blair also resigned during the last year of Lincoln's term, and was succeeded by William Dennison, of Ohio.

Senator Douglas, who had been Lincoln's opponent, behaved nobly in the time of crisis. He did all in his power to strengthen the hands of the President and his cause. There were many in the South, however, who declared that the Southern States might secede with impunity, for the North would never fight. One of them expressed these views to General Butler, who replied, "The North *will* fight. The North will send the last man, and expend the last dollar to maintain the Government."

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"But," said his Southern friend, "the North can't fight; we have too many allies there." "You have friends," rejoined Butler, "in the North, who will stand by you so long as you fight your battles in the Union; but the moment you fire on the flag the Northern people will be a unit against you. And you may be assured that if war comes, *slavery ends*."

The war practically began on the 11th of April, 1861, when the secessionists of South Carolina under General G. T. Beauregard attacked Fort Sumter. After a bombardment of thirty-six hours, the Commandant, Major Robert Anderson, and his gallant band of seventy men surrendered.

The fall of Fort Sumter caused President Lincoln to take immediate action. On the 15th of April he issued his proclamation calling for 75,000 soldiers. The whole of the North was at once raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm. War had been forced upon the national authority by the South, and while with sadness, it was also with confidence that Lincoln entered upon one of the greatest civil struggles in the history of nations.

## CHAPTER IV

### *THE CIVIL WAR*

THE difficulties which beset Lincoln on the outbreak of the Civil War seemed almost insuperable, and would have daunted any but a man of extraordinary mould. His enemies had made their preparations; he had no generals equal in skill to Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Johnston; the treasury was empty; the national credit was strained to the utmost, and he entered upon the task of restoring the Union without the sympathy of any European Power. One thing, and one thing only, enabled him to persevere to a victorious end, and that was the justice of his cause.

Early in May Lincoln ordered the enlistment of 64,000 soldiers and 18,000 seamen for three years, and a blockade of the Southern ports began. Congress was called together in special session on the 4th of July. In the mean time, the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas joined the Confederate organization, against the will of a majority of the people of those States.



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Ultimately all the Southern States became secessionists, except Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and West Virginia. On the 21st of July the first important battle in the war was fought at Bull Run, when the National troops were defeated. To General G. B. McClellan was given the command of the forces of the North, but he acted at supreme times in a vacillating manner. The summer and autumn of 1861 were spent in enlisting, drilling, and equipping a formidable National or Federal army on the banks of the Potomac.

Towards the close of the year, the friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States were seriously imperilled by the seizure of the Confederate envoys, Mason and Slidell, on board a British vessel, the *Trent*. The Northern people and press were almost unanimous in refusing the demand of England for the surrender of the envoys; but when President Lincoln, after mature deliberation, decided that the capture was against American precedents, and directed the return of the envoys, the country on second thoughts supported the President. Lincoln acted with similar wise judgment in the case of Mexico and France; but he let it be known everywhere, and at all times, that "the safety of the people of the United States, and the cheerful destiny to which they aspire, are intimately dependent upon the maintenance of free Republican institutions throughout Mexico." Later, he decisively rejected the appeal for foreign mediation in Mexico made by the Emperor of the French.

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Diplomatic relations with England were again strained, owing to the action of Confederate cruisers fitted out in English ports. War was only averted by the moderation of Lincoln, the energy and ability of Secretary Seward and Charles Francis Adams, American Minister in London, in presenting the claims of the United States, and the candour and honesty of Earl Russell, the British Minister, in dealing with them. In the end the British Government took the necessary steps to put an end to the predatory warfare upon American commerce.

Returning to the war, General McClellan made no advance until the spring of 1862, when, with an effective force of 177,000 men, he compelled General Johnston, with a Confederate army of 45,000 men, to evacuate his position. McClellan then transferred his army to the peninsula between the James and York rivers ; but he wasted a month before he compelled an opposing force of only 16,000 men to fall back on Richmond. In the battle of Seven Pines, 31st of May, 1862, the Confederates were at first victorious, but their commander, General Johnston, was wounded, and the command devolved upon General Robert E. Lee, who now came to the front. In the latter part of June he moved out from his position before Richmond, and attacked McClellan's, under Porter, at Gaines's Mills, north of the Chickahominy. Porter resisted with great gallantry, but instead of being assisted by McClellan, the latter began his retreat to the James River. At Malvern Hill the Federal troops inflicted a severe defeat on

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General Lee, but immediately afterwards they were withdrawn by McClellan to Harrison's Landing. Here, again, the Federal commander showed great vacillation, and although his troops were always in excess of those of his opponents, he magnified their numbers, and complained that the President did not send him sufficient reinforcements.

Against the disasters in the east, however, were to be set brilliant victories in the west. In February, 1862, General Ulysses S. Grant—who was already becoming known as one of the most skilful and determined of the Northern commanders—captured the Confederate Forts Henry and Donelson, thus laying open the great strategic lines of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. Then, moving south, he fought the battle of Shiloh, April 6th and 7th, with unfavourable results on the first day, but a victory on the second, with the aid of General D. C. Buell and his army. The Southern general, Albert Sidney Johnston, was killed, and the Confederate invasion of Kentucky baffled. In April, also, Admiral Farragut won a great naval victory over the twin forts above the mouths of the Mississippi, which resulted in the capture of New Orleans and the control of the Lower Mississippi.

The President visited McClellan's army at Harrison's Landing on the 8th of July, and, after careful consultation with the corps commanders, he became convinced that, in the actual disposition of the officers and the troops, there was no reasonable expectation of a successful movement upon Richmond, the capital

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of the Southern Confederacy. The army was consequently ordered to withdraw from the James River, General McClellan was superseded, and General Halleck was appointed Commander-in-Chief. General Pope was despatched from Washington with a small force to delay the Confederate army under General Lee until the army of the Potomac could arrive and be concentrated to support him. McClellan was so dilatory, however, in bringing up the troops still under him, and his officers showed such disinclination to push on vigorously to the relief of Pope, that the Federals met with another decisive defeat at Bull Run. Pope, disheartened at the position, retreated upon Washington; and McClellan, who seemed to be the only officer under whom at the moment the army was willing to serve, was reinstated in the chief command. General Lee crossed the Potomac, but was met by the Federals at South Mountain and Antietam, and after two days of great slaughter—September 17th and 18th—Lee retreated into Virginia.

In addition to all his public anxieties, Lincoln at this time was visited by severe domestic trouble. He lost one son from fever, and another was in extreme danger. After the death of his boy he shut himself up in his room, and gave way to excessive grief. No one seemed to be able to console him. At last Dr. Vinton, of New York, procured an interview with him, in the course of which he told Lincoln frankly that it was sinful to indulge in such grief. "Your son is *alive* in Paradise," said Dr.

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Vinton. "Alive! alive!" exclaimed the President, starting to his feet; "surely you mock me." "No, my dear sir, believe me; Christ himself declares it." Lincoln looked at him a moment, then, throwing his arms about the clergyman's neck, and laying his head upon his shoulders, he sobbed aloud, repeating, "Alive! alive!" From that time the President was comforted, and no longer mourned under the dread of an eternal separation. At this time he was again warned against rebels in Washington, who might assassinate him, when he replied, "I am in God's hand; let Him do to me what seemeth good to Him."

All through the year 1862 the question of slavery was uppermost in the President's thoughts. Even in 1860 and 1861 he had been pressed by both parties to take action for or against the institution, but he wished to secure union first, and to bring about emancipation by peaceful means, with due regard to the interests of both masters and slaves. But his firm resolve was that the Union must be preserved first of all, slavery or no slavery. When Congress passed an Act in 1861 to confiscate the rights of slave-owners in slaves employed in a manner hostile to the Union, and General Fremont seized the occasion to emancipate the slaves of rebels in the State of Missouri, Lincoln ordered Fremont to modify his action so that it should conform to the Confiscation Act of Congress, and not transcend it. On the 6th of March, 1862, the President sent a special message to Congress, recommending a resolution to offer

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pecuniary aid from the General Government to States which should adopt the gradual abolition of slavery. The resolution was passed, but the feeling in the slave States was not sufficiently advanced for this. In the following month, however, Lincoln affixed his signature to an Act emancipating slaves in the district of Columbia, with compensation to owners. When General Hunter issued an order in May, 1862, declaring the slaves in certain States free, the President revoked the order, reserving to himself the decision of the question whether it was competent for him, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free. But he added in his proclamation an urgent warning and appeal to the slave-holding States, pressing upon them once more the policy of emancipation by State action. Later on he called together the members of Congress from the loyal slave-holding States, and again urged upon them this policy. He told them, without reproach or complaint, that he believed if they had all voted for the resolution in the gradual emancipation message of the preceding March, the war would now have been substantially ended, and that the plan therein proposed was still one of the most potent and swift means of ending it. While urging this policy upon the Conservatives, however, Lincoln had fully resolved in his own mind upon emancipation by decree as a last resource.

All these emancipation efforts having failed, the President regarded the retreat of Lee from Maryland, after his defeat at Antietam, as a favourable

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opportunity for the execution of his long-matured resolve, and on the 22nd of September he issued his preliminary proclamation, announcing to the States in rebellion that, on the 1st of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof should then be in rebellion against the United States, should be then, thenceforward, and for ever free. Congress met on the 1st of December, and Lincoln urged it to supplement what had already been done by Constitutional action, concluding his message with this impassioned appeal :—

“Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honour or dishonour to the latest generation. We—even we here—hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honourable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth. Other means may succeed ; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will for ever applaud, and God must for ever bless.” The hundred days which the President had left between his warning and its execution expired on the 1st of January, 1863, and on that date the final proclamation of emancipation was issued. It recited the preliminary document,



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and then designated the States in rebellion against the United States. They were Arkansas, Texas, a part of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, excepting certain counties. The proclamation then continued: "I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons. . . . And upon this Act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favour of Almighty God."

In obedience to an American custom, the President had been receiving calls on that memorable New Year's Day, and was engaged for hours in shaking hands. When the emancipation paper was brought to him by the Secretary of State to be signed, he said :—

"Mr. Seward, I have been shaking hands all day, and my right hand is almost paralyzed. If my name ever gets into history, it will be for this Act, and my whole soul is in it. If my hand trembles when I sign the proclamation, those who examine the document hereafter will say, 'He hesitated.'" Then, after resting his arm for a moment, he turned to the table, took up a pen, and slowly and firmly wrote, *Abraham Lincoln*. He smiled, as

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handing the paper to Mr. Seward, he said, "That will do."

This emancipation edict was the greatest event of the nineteenth century in the history of the United States. By loyal people it was received with grateful rejoicings everywhere. To the negro race it was the charter of their liberties. By the coloured people of the United States, therefore, Lincoln's name was held in especial reverence. They journeyed from all parts of the country to do him honour, and he always received them with courtesy and kindness. This treatment was so different from that to which they had been accustomed, that their hearts were almost broken with joy. "He's brought us through the Red Sea ;" "He's king of the United States ;" "He ought to be king of the world." Such were some of the exclamations of the freed negroes, who wept and laughed by turns from excess of emotion. The loyal coloured people of Baltimore presented the President with a very costly Bible as a token of respect and gratitude, and he acknowledged the gift as follows :—

"It is the best gift which God has ever given to man. All the good from the Saviour of the world is communicated to us through this Book. But for it we could not know right from wrong. All those truths desirable for men are contained in it. I return you my sincere thanks for the very elegant copy of the Great Book of God which you present."

A coloured woman of Philadelphia, in making a presentation to Lincoln, said, in a tremulous voice :—

"Mr. President, I believe God has hewn you out

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of a rock for this great and mighty purpose. Many have been led away by bribes of gold, of silver, of presents ; but you have stood firm, because God was with you ; and if you are faithful to the end, He will be with you." Lincoln, with his eyes full of tears, replied, "You must not give me the praise ; it belongs to God."

Speaker Colfax well said of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation : "The great act of the mighty chieftain, on which his fame shall rest long after his frame shall moulder away, is that of giving freedom to a race. We have all been taught to revere the sacred characters. Among them Moses stands pre-eminently high. He received the law from God, and his name is honoured among the hosts of heaven. Was not his greatest act the delivering of three millions of his kindred out of bondage? Yet we may assert that Abraham Lincoln, by his proclamation, liberated more enslaved people than ever Moses set free, and those not of his kindred, or of his race. Such a power, or such an opportunity, God has seldom given to man. When other events shall have been forgotten, when literature shall enlighten all minds, when the claims of humanity shall be recognized everywhere, this act shall be conspicuous in the pages of history. We are thankful that God gave to Abraham Lincoln wisdom and grace to issue that proclamation, which stands high above all other papers which have been penned by uninspired men."

Congress sanctioned the edict, and the rest of the anti-slavery legislation may be briefly summarized.

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Efforts were made in 1863 and 1864 in favour of Constitutional emancipation in all the States, and in his annual message of the 6th of December, 1864, the President again urged this. As there were some, however, who thought he might be induced to withdraw his proclamation for the sake of peace, Lincoln said: "While I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation; nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation or by any acts of Congress. If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it." Congress now acted with zeal, and on the 31st of January, 1865, proposed to the States the 13th amendment to the Constitution, providing that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. The States rapidly adopted the amendment by the action of their Legislatures, and the President was especially gratified that his own State of Illinois led the van, having passed the necessary resolution within twenty-four hours. Before the year ended, twenty-seven of the thirty-six States—being the necessary three-fourths—had ratified the amendment, and ultimately Lincoln's proclamation led to the freeing of every slave in the Republic.

In the mean time, how was the war progressing?

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It had attained such proportions in the course of two years that volunteering was no longer a sufficient resource to keep the Federal army at its full fighting strength of nearly one million of men. Congress consequently authorized, and the departments executed, a scheme of enrolment and draft of the arms-bearing population of the loyal States. This action led to serious opposition in some States, and this being fanned by the violent speeches of Democratic orators, there were many breaches of the public peace. A frightful riot, which began among the foreign population of New York, threw that city into terror and disorder for three days in July, 1863. The riots were suppressed by the military, and eventually the law of conscription was executed throughout the country. The President in the White House was filled with anxiety over his almost overwhelming troubles, and would willingly have exchanged places with the meanest soldier upon the battle-field. On one occasion he remarked, "If it were not for my belief in an overruling Providence, it would be difficult for me, in the midst of such complications, to keep my reason on its seat. But I am confident that the Almighty has His plans, and will work them out, and, whether we see it or not, they will be the best and wisest for us. I have always taken counsel of Him, and referred to Him my plans, and have never adopted a course of proceeding without being assured, as far as I could be, of His approbation."

The Vallandigham case caused the President special disquietude. Clement L. Vallandigham, of

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Ohio, an eloquent and influential Democratic orator, was arrested by General Burnside in Ohio for his violent public speeches in opposition to the war. He was tried by a military court, and sentenced to imprisonment during the continuance of the war. The President changed his sentence to that of transportation within the lines of the rebellion. The affair caused great excitement among the Democratic party in Ohio, who, by way of challenge to the Government, nominated him for Governor of that State. A committee of its prominent politicians demanded from the President his restoration to his political rights ; and a correspondence took place between them and Lincoln, in which the latter set forth the rights and powers of the Government in case of rebellion with great force and lucidity. Lincoln's letters exercised a very important influence in the political discussions of the year, and Vallandigham was defeated in his candidacy by John Brough by a majority of 100,000 votes.

Progress on the battle-field seemed very slow to impatient partisans on both sides. In November, 1862, General McClellan was finally removed from the command of the Army of the Potomac, in consequence of his persistent delay in pursuing Lee's retreating army after the battle of Antietam. General Burnside was appointed his successor, but he suffered a humiliating defeat in his attack upon the entrenched position of the Confederates at Fredericksburg. Lincoln was greatly depressed by this defeat, and especially by the great and useless sacrifice of the

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lives of his gallant soldiers. There were recriminations amongst the officers, and Burnside resigned the chief command, being succeeded by General Hooker. Hooker began his campaign by crossing the Rapidan in a march of unusual brilliancy, but he was defeated at Chancellorsville, in a battle where both sides lost severely, and then retired again north of the river. It was in this battle that the finest officer in the Confederate army, General Stonewall Jackson, met his death. The Southern Commander-in-Chief, General Lee, leaving the Federal army on his right flank, crossed the Potomac, and—Hooker having at his own request been relieved and succeeded by General Meade—the two armies met in a three days' terrible battle at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Lee sustained a decisive defeat, and was driven back into Virginia. This event completely changed the drooping fortunes of the North. Lee's flight from Gettysburg began on the evening of the 4th of July, a day which in this year doubled its lustre as a historic American anniversary. Other good fortune attended the Northern cause, for on this day also Vicksburg, the most important Confederate stronghold in the west, surrendered to General Grant. That able commander had spent several months in fruitless efforts to reduce the fortress. But on the 30th of April he crossed the river at Grand Gulf, and within a few days fought the successful battles of Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills, and the Big Black River. Then he shut up the army of Pemberton in close siege in the city of Vicksburg,



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which he finally captured with about 30,000 men on the 4th of July.

In consecrating the battle-field cemetery near Gettysburg, on the 19th of November, 1863, the President delivered this brief but beautiful speech, which has already become classic :—

“Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war.

“We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain;

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ish from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln.

November 19. 1863.



## Lincoln

that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Edward Everett, the chosen orator of the day, and one of the most accomplished speakers of the time, took Lincoln's hand when he concluded, and said: "My speech will soon be forgotten; yours never will be. How gladly would I exchange my hundred pages for your twenty lines."

The relations of Lincoln with the army were very close and intimate. He issued an order for the better observance of Sunday, and deplored and rebuked intemperance and profane swearing. Yet he was a favourite with the soldiers, who alternated the endearing epithet of "Father Abraham" with the more familiar one of "Old Abe." Many anecdotes are recorded of his respiting deserters. Once he was unable to resist the pleadings of a babe borne in its mother's arms. In another case he overrode the decision of Secretary Stanton, and in many subsequent instances his great tenderness availed to preserve lives which had been forfeited to the State. Once a repentant soldier begged forgiveness for fighting against the North, and he received it immediately. On another occasion, a public man complained of his Amnesty Proclamation, and Lincoln made this truly Christian reply: "When a man is sincerely penitent for his misdeeds, and gives satisfactory evidence of the same, he can safely be pardoned, and there is no exception to the rule."

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He grieved for those slain in battle, almost as though they were his own sons. One morning, after a terrible engagement, Secretary Seward found him pacing his room in a painfully distressed condition. In answer to the Secretary's inquiries, he said : "This dreadful news from the *boys*" (the soldiers) "has banished sleep and appetite. Not a moment's sleep last night ; not a crumb of food this morning." After another hard-fought battle he buried his face in his hands, exclaiming : "I shall never more be glad !" One of the Northern Army generals assured the President that a number of deserters must be shot for the sake of discipline, but Lincoln replied : "Mr. General, there are already too many weeping widows in the United States. Don't ask me to add to their number, for I won't do it."

To a mother in Boston, who had lost five sons in battle, President Lincoln wrote this touching letter :—

"DEAR MADAM,—I have been shown, in the files of the War Department, a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your

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bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

“Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

“ABRAHAM LINCOLN.”

In all the efforts for the aid and relief of wounded soldiers the President displayed untiring zeal. The kind of retaliation he wreaked upon the enemies of the Republic is demonstrated by one incident. Some trembling Confederate prisoners were brought to his notice, when he astonished them by taking each one by the hand. Then he said: “The solemn obligations which we owe to our country and posterity compel the prosecution of this war. Many of you, no doubt, occupy the attitude of enemies through uncontrollable circumstances. I bear no malice towards you, and can take you by the hand with sympathy and good feeling.” Some of the men were badly wounded. “Be of good cheer, boys, and the end will be well. The best of care shall be taken of you.” The scene was very affecting, and many of the Confederate soldiers wept.

The successes of General Grant had concentrated attention upon him in a remarkable degree. He was transferred to Chattanooga, where, in November, 1863—with the troops of Thomas, Hooker, and Sherman—he won the decisive victory of Missionary Ridge. He was now appointed Lieut.-General and General-in-Chief of the armies of the United States.

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He proceeded to Washington, and soon entered upon the memorable campaign of 1864, in which centred the hopes of the Government and the nation. From this time Lincoln began to take a less personal part in the operations of the army, for he felt that he had at last an able and skilful general in whom he could thoroughly confide. Writing to Grant on the 30th of April, he said: "The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant ; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you. . . . If there is anything wanting which it is in my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you."

But the war was still destined for a time to run a chequered course. Early in May Grant crossed the Rapidan. The two opposing armies came together in a gloomy forest called the Wilderness ; and here, from the 5th to the 7th of May, one of the most sanguinary contests known to modern warfare was waged. Neither side gained any decisive advantage, but the carnage was terrible. The same remark applies to the engagements near Spottsylvania Court House, where for ten days a series of destructive contests took place between Grant and Lee, in which both sides were alternately successful. Grant again met the enemy at the crossing of North Anna River, and still later at Cold Harbour, a few miles north-east of Richmond, where he met with a severe repulse, however, in attacking General Lee's strongly fortified



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position. Grant then crossed the James River, intending by a rapid movement to seize Petersburg and the Confederate lines of communication south of Richmond; but he was baffled in his purpose, and compelled to enter upon a regular siege of Petersburg, which occupied the summer and autumn.

While these operations were in progress, General Philip H. Sheridan, the most brilliant cavalry officer that America has produced, made one of the most dashing raids of the war, threatening Richmond, and defeating at Yellow Tavern the Confederate cavalry under General James E. B. Stuart, who was killed in the battle. Stuart was the most famous cavalry leader in the Southern army. When Grant lay before Richmond, General Lee, hoping to induce him to attack his works, despatched a force under General Early to threaten Washington. Early was repulsed in a skirmish under the fortifications of Washington, and when only a few miles from the White House, the action being witnessed by Lincoln in person from Fort Stevens. Grant now determined that Early must be driven out of the Shenandoah Valley altogether, and he selected Sheridan to execute the decisive campaign which he had planned. On the 19th of September Maryland was freed from danger of invasion when Sheridan attacked Early at Opequan, and drove him from the field with a loss of 4000 men. He was pursued to the Blue Ridge Mountains. Some weeks later Early recrossed the mountains, and on the 19th of October, in the absence of Sheridan, he surprised and drove from the field the

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left of the Union army. A rally was made near Middletown, and at this juncture Sheridan, who had been at Winchester, and there heard the heavy guns, came dashing forward at the full speed of his horse. His magnetic presence and heroic bearing infused courage into the troops, and, attacking the Confederates with great impetuosity, he recaptured the guns and prisoners taken by Early. The rebel army was completely routed and destroyed. This ended the war in the Shenandoah Valley, and Sheridan's victory at Cedar Creek was the last of many battles fought in the valley. Sheridan's famous ride from Winchester was made the subject of a stirring poem by Buchanan Read. For his splendid services Sheridan was made a Brigadier-General by the President, and Congress voted him its special thanks.

Another great campaign was that conducted by the Northern commander, General W. T. Sherman. He had been left in charge of the Western district, formerly commanded by Grant, and he moved southward at the same time that Grant crossed the Rapidan. General Joseph E. Johnston, an able Confederate officer, retired gradually before him, defending himself with skill and address at every halt ; but his movements not proving rapid enough for the Richmond Government, he was superseded, and General John B. Hood appointed in his place. Months of severe fighting ensued, but on the 1st of September Sherman captured Atlanta, one of the most important railway and military centres of the South. Later in the autumn Sherman organized and executed

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his celebrated march to the sea. By this he demonstrated that the military power of the Confederacy had been concentrated at a few points on the frontier, and that the interior was little more than an empty shell. Reaching the sea-coast early in December, he invested Savannah on the 10th, and captured the city on the 21st. Then he marched northward, with the intention of assisting General Grant. Sherman's grand march to the sea had all the elements of romance in it. Jefferson Davis predicted that he would meet with the fate of Napoleon at Moscow, and escape only with a bodyguard; but it was the President of the Confederacy himself who was destined to become a fugitive through this march. The army under General George H. Thomas had been left in Tennessee to hold the Confederate General Hood in check while Sherman's movement was in progress. In a preliminary battle at Franklin, on the 30th of November, Thomas was successful, and on the 16th of December he inflicted a crushing and final defeat upon Hood in the battle of Nashville, routing him and driving him from the State.

Before describing the closing scenes of the war, we must pause to relate the circumstances attending the election of Lincoln to the Presidency for a second term.

## CHAPTER V

### *LINCOLN AGAIN ELECTED PRESIDENT*

WHILE the end of the war was still not in sight, the country was plunged in the turmoils of an active political canvass. The last year of Lincoln's Presidency was drawing towards a close, and it became necessary for both parties to think of his successor. There were many eager aspirants for the high office, among generals whom Lincoln had been obliged to deprive of their command, among the irreconcilable Democrats, and even among the President's own ambitious Republican friends.

But the people pointed emphatically to Lincoln as the only man again worthy of the office. His patriotism, his sterling character, his firmness for the right, and his magnanimity towards his foes, had deeply impressed the nation. They felt that he stood on a level far above that of the scheming politician and the mere self-seeker. It was in vain that the politicians, the members of Congress, the press, with its powerful leaders like Horace Greeley,

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opposed him ; the people would not listen to them. They knew whom they wanted, and no other was capable of grappling with the crisis. The Republicans were divided amongst themselves ; some wanted General Fremont, and some Salmon P. Chase, the Secretary to the Treasury. But when Chase's own State, Ohio, declared for Lincoln, Chase withdrew from the canvass. Not long afterwards, Lincoln, ever large in spirit, appointed his rival to the high office of Chief Justice of the United States.

The Republican Convention met at Baltimore on the 8th of June, 1864. A few disappointed members of the party met at Cleveland, Ohio, and nominated General Fremont for President, but the movement was so manifestly without popular support that Fremont withdrew. Others wished to bring out General Grant, but he was needed at the head of the army, and with his usual good sense and fidelity he refused to have his name used to divide the Union party. Yet Lincoln himself said that if Grant could be more useful as President in putting down the rebellion he would be content. Ex-Governor William Dennison, of Ohio, was chosen President of the Convention. After endorsing the Administration, and approving the anti-slavery Acts of Congress and the Executive, and especially the Proclamation of Emancipation, the Convention declared in favour of amending the Constitution so as to abolish and prohibit slavery for ever throughout the Republic.

Then Lincoln was unanimously nominated for President, and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for

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Vice-President. Johnson was a Democrat, but his heroic fidelity to the Union, as Senator from Tennessee, when so many of his associates denounced him and the Union cause, secured for him the admiration of the loyal people, and singled him out as deserving of this nomination. In accepting his own nomination as President, Lincoln said: "I view this call to a second term as in no wise more flattering to myself than as an expression of the public judgment, that I may better finish a difficult work than could any one less severely schooled to the task." With regard to the great question of the impending Constitutional amendment, Lincoln said: "Such an amendment as is now proposed becomes a fitting and necessary conclusion to the final success of the Union cause. Such alone can meet all cavils. The unconditional Union men, North and South, perceive its importance, and embrace it. In the joint names of Liberty and Union let us labour to give it legal form and practical effect."

The Democratic Convention did not meet until the 20th of August, at Chicago. It nominated General George B. McClellan for President, and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, for Vice-President. Clement L. Vallandigham, who had returned from his banishment to the rebel lines, and whom the Government had judiciously declined to rearrest, led the extreme peace party in the Convention. New York politicians of note were present in McClellan's interests. Both sections of the Convention gained their point. McClellan secured the nomination for

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President, and Vollandigham prevailed upon his party to accept a resolution declaring that the war had been a failure, and demanding a cessation of hostilities. But two events—the capture of Atlanta, and the defeat of Early by Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley—soon put a different complexion on affairs. The Democrats were depressed, and the Republicans correspondingly elated. Farragut's success at Mobile also greatly helped the Federals.

The canvass proceeded with vigour through September and October, and the result showed that the name of Lincoln was more popular, and his influence more powerful, than any one had anticipated. The election took place on the 8th of November, 1864, and Lincoln was re-elected by the largest majority ever known in Presidential elections. He received 2,216,000 votes, and General McClellan 1,800,000. But the difference in the vote of the electoral college was still greater, for Lincoln was supported by 212 of the Presidential electors, while only 21 voted for McClellan. As none but the loyal States voted, the electoral college vote thus totalled only 233. Lincoln had the support of every State except those of New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky. The election of Lincoln expressed the deliberate intention of the people to fight out the war to a successful issue. After the result of the election was made known, Lincoln, in response to a serenade, said: "I am thankful to God for this approval of the people. But while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my own heart,



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my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. . . . It is not in my nature to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to Almighty God for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

But the election only made the insurgents all the more desperate. They talked of arming the negroes, and entering upon a scheme of spoliation, which included the burning of Northern cities, robbery, assassination, etc. Horace Greeley was made the tool of certain emissaries from the South, for whom he requested a safe conduct from the President, although they had no authority whatever to treat for peace. Lincoln, however, sent the following passport: "*To whom it may concern*: Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on substantial and collateral points; and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways." This put an end to the intrigues set on foot. Subsequently, when the hopelessness of the struggle became apparent to some of the Confederate leaders, Jefferson Davis sent an embassy to Fortress Monroe, to inquire what terms of adjustment were possible. They were met by President Lincoln and the Secretary of State in person. The plan proposed was one which had been

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suggested by Mr. F. P. Blair, of Washington, on his own responsibility. It was that the two armies should unite in a campaign against the French in Mexico for the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine, and that the issues of the war should be postponed for future settlement. Lincoln peremptorily declined to entertain this scheme, and repeated again the only conditions to which he could listen, namely, the restoration of the national authority in all the States, the maintenance and execution of all the Acts of the General Government in regard to slavery, the cessation of hostilities, and the disbandment of the insurgent forces as a necessary preliminary to the ending of the war. The negotiations fell through.

Jefferson Davis and the other Confederate chiefs still remained defiant, and in their extremity, on the 2nd of February, 1865, General Lee was made commander of all the rebel forces, and further to retrieve their desperate fortunes, as they hoped, the Southern Confederacy resolved to call upon their negroes for aid, promising them freedom in return for their services.

Lincoln's second inauguration as President of the United States took place on the 4th of March, 1865. It was a great occasion, and there was a brilliant and gigantic assembly in front of the Capitol. Thousands of those now present would willingly have died for their chief magistrate. The President's second inaugural address "will for ever remain not only one of the most remarkable of all his public utterances, but will also hold a high rank among the greatest

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State papers that history has preserved. As he neared the end of his career, and saw plainly outlined before him the dimensions of the vast moral and material success that the nation was about to achieve, his thoughts, always predisposed to an earnest and serious view of life, assumed a fervour and exaltation like that of the ancient seers and prophets." The speech which he delivered to that vast concourse was the briefest of all Presidential addresses, but it had no superior, if indeed its equal, in lofty eloquence and austere morality. Thus spoke the President, in a clear and ringing, but at times saddened voice:—

"Fellow-countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then, a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seeming very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

"On the occasion corresponding to this, four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it; all sought to

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avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city, seeking to destroy it with war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish; and the war came. One-eighth of the whole population were coloured slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

“Neither party expected for the war the magnitude of the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even be achieved before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

“Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God’s assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men’s faces. But let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of

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both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offences, which in the providence of God must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern there any departure from those Divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, that 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in—to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

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An eminent statesman who heard this inaugural address delivered declared that it was one of the sublimest utterances ever spoken by man, reminding one of the words of the old Hebrew prophets. When the address became known in Europe it led to instant recognition of the moral and intellectual greatness of its author. It proved that Lincoln largely drew his inspiration from that well of English undefiled, the authorized translation of the Bible.

## CHAPTER VI

### *DEATH IN VICTORY*

EARLY in 1865 the war made rapid strides towards a conclusion. Fort Fisher, which guards the harbour of Wilmington, North Carolina, was taken by General Terry on the 15th of January ; and Sherman, moving from Savannah, entered Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, on the 17th of February.

On the 3rd of March Secretary Stanton received a telegram from General Grant to the effect that General Lee had at last sought an interview, with the purpose of seeing whether any terms of peace could be agreed upon. After consultation with Lincoln, Stanton replied as follows :—

“The President directs me to say to you that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee, unless it be for the capitulation of Lee’s army, or on some other minor and purely military matter. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political question. Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and



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will submit them to no military conferences or conventions. Meanwhile, you are to press to the utmost your military advantages."

On the 27th of March the President met Generals Grant and Sherman in the cabin of the steamer *Ocean Queen*, lying in the James River, and not far from the headquarters of General Grant. The object was to confer on the situation. In the course of conversation, Sherman said to Grant: "Hold Lee in his fortified lines for two weeks; our waggons will be loaded, and we will start for Burksville. If Lee will remain in Richmond until I can reach Burksville, we will have him between our thumb and fingers. He would have to surrender." When Lincoln was told that one more sanguinary battle was likely to occur before the close of the war, he exclaimed with characteristic humanity, "Must more blood be shed? Cannot this bloody battle be avoided?"

But even then the restless and indomitable Sheridan was already marching to Grant's left, to seize and cut off the only available route for Lee's escape. Ten more days of marching and incessant fighting and the campaign would be at an end. Sheridan pushed on over all obstacles to Five Forks, and on the morning of the 31st of March, Lee, with 18,000 men, found himself confronted by Sheridan with 10,000. But Sheridan sent word by Grant that he would hold the position. The latter, however, sent him another corps of men. The works in front of Petersburg were carried on the 2nd of April, and

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Lee fled, the Confederate Government at the same time fleeing from Richmond. Lee made desperate efforts to escape with his army, but all in vain. Sheridan engaged him in front, and when Grant came up with him behind all was over. Lee, and the broken and shattered remnant of his army, surrendered at Appomattox Court House on the 9th of April. About 28,000 Confederates signed the parole, and an equal number had been killed, captured, and dispersed in the operations immediately preceding the surrender. A few days afterwards General Sherman received the surrender of General Johnston, and the last Confederate army, under General Kirby Smith, west of the Mississippi, also laid down its arms. Jefferson Davis was afterwards captured in Georgia. The Civil War was over, and the Southern Confederacy was no more.

“President Lincoln,” observes Colonel John Hay, “had himself accompanied the army in its last triumphant campaign, and had entered Richmond immediately after its surrender, receiving the cheers and benedictions, not only of the negroes whom he had set free, but of a great number of white people, who were weary of the war, and welcomed the advent of peace. Returning to Washington with his mind filled with plans for the restoration of peace and orderly government throughout the South, he seized the occasion of a serenade on the 11th of April to deliver to the people who gathered in front of the Executive Mansion his last speech on public affairs, in which he discussed with unusual dignity

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and force the problems of reconstruction, then crowding upon public consideration. As his second inaugural was the greatest of all his rhetorical compositions, so this brief political address, which closed his public career, is unsurpassed among his speeches for clearness and wisdom, and for a certain tone of gentle but unmistakable authority, which shows to what a mastery of statecraft he had attained. He congratulated the country upon the decisive victories of the last week; he expressly asserted that although he had been present in the final operations, 'no part of the honour, for plan or execution, was his,' and then, with equal boldness and discretion, announced the principles in accordance with which he should deal with the restoration of the States. He refused to be provoked into controversy, which he held would be purely academic, over the question whether the insurrectionary States were in or out of the Union. 'As appears to me,' he said, 'that question has not been, nor yet is, a practically material one, and any discussion of it, while it thus remains practically immaterial, could leave no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. As yet, whatever it may hereafter become, that question is bad, as the basis of a controversy, and good for nothing at all—a merely pernicious abstraction. We all agree that the seceded States, so-called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the Government, civil and military, in regard to those States, is to again get them into that proper practical relation.

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I believe it is not only possible, but, in fact, easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these States have ever been out of the Union than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these States and the Union, and each for ever after innocently indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the States from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it.' In this temper he discussed the recent action of the Unionists of Louisiana, where 12,000 voters had sworn allegiance, giving his full approval to their course, but not committing himself to any similar method in other cases. 'Any exclusive and inflexible plan would surely become a new entanglement. . . . If we reject and spurn them, we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in effect, say to the white men, "You are worthless or worse ; we will neither help you nor be helped by you." To the blacks we say, "This cup of liberty which these, your old masters, hold to your lips we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some vague and undefined when, where, and how." . . . If, on the contrary, we sustain the new Government of Louisiana the converse is made true. Concede that it is only to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it.'"

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These proved to be the last words which President Lincoln uttered in public ; but for three more days his heart was occupied with the thoughts of peace. He was grateful to God for having brought an end to strife ; and so far from indulging one bitter thought of revenge over those who had wrought such havoc to the commonwealth, he would gladly have hailed the news that they had fled from the country, and so escaped the punishment they merited. He was now consumed by one thought only, how to bind up the wounds of his country, and to secure a durable peace throughout the Union.

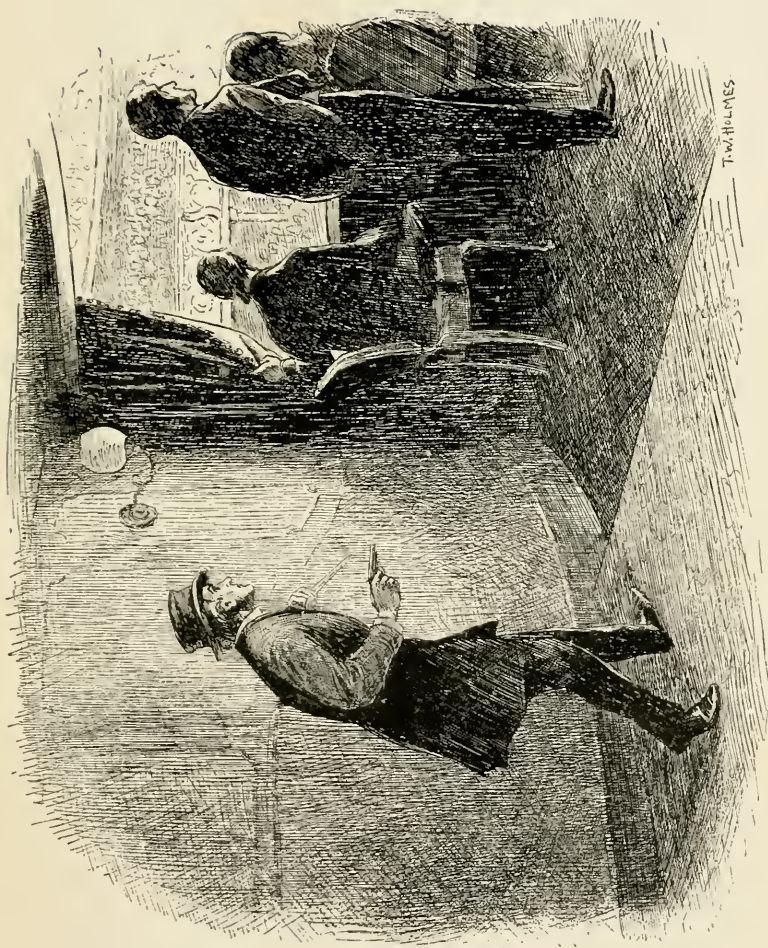
At mid-day on the 14th of April there was a meeting of the Cabinet, at which General Grant was present. The President developed his views for a settlement of the nation. Once, when silent, he was observed to look very grave, and he said : "Gentlemen, something serious is going to happen. I have had a strange dream, and have a presentiment such as I have had several times before, and always just before some important event." After the Cabinet meeting he went for a drive with Mrs. Lincoln alone. "Mary," said he, "we have had a hard time of it since we came to Washington ; but the war is over, and with God's blessing we may hope for four years of peace and happiness, and then we will go back to Illinois and pass the rest of our lives in quiet." His spirit hankered after the old Springfield home, with its recollections of early days. He even pictured himself practising law again for a livelihood, and perfectly happy in his retirement.

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In order to rejoice with the people over the conclusion of peace, the President and his family had agreed to attend Ford's Theatre that evening. The tragedy that ensued, and which filled America and the civilized world with horror, is thus described by Lincoln's biographer, Arnold :—

“The President, Mrs. Lincoln, and their party reached the theatre at nine o'clock. On his entry, he was received with acclamation. As he reached the door of the box reserved for him, he turned, smiled, and bowed his acknowledgment of the greeting which welcomed him, and then followed Mrs. Lincoln into the box. This was at the right of the stage, and not many feet from the floor. In the corner nearest the stage sat Miss Harris, a daughter of Senator Harris, of New York ; next her was Mrs. Lincoln, Major Rathbone being seated on a sofa behind the ladies, and the President nearest the door. The box was draped and festooned with the national colours. The play was the *American Cousin*. It is painful to have to mention the name of the man who had attained some distinction in the representation of the mimic tragedies of the drama ; the name of one henceforth to be more infamous than any of the villains whose parts he had assumed, and which the genius of Shakspeare had conceived. John Wilkes Booth, the assassin, visited the theatre behind the scenes, and saw the President sitting in the box. He had a fleet horse in the alley behind the building, all saddled and ready to aid him in his escape, and saw that the door to this alley was open. The





T. W. HOLMES.

THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.





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arrangements for the murder being completed, 10.30 p.m., a pistol shot, startling and sharp, was heard, and a man holding a dagger dripping with blood leaped from the President's box to the stage, exclaiming: '*Sic semper tyrannis*; the South is avenged!' As the assassin struck the floor of the stage he fell on his knee, breaking a bone, the spur on his boot having caught in the folds of the flag as he leaped. Instantly rising, he brandished his bloody dagger, darted across the stage through the door he had left open, sprung upon his horse, and galloped away. Major Rathbone, at the sound of the pistol, and as the assassin rushed towards the stage, had attempted to seize him, and received a severe cut in the arm.

"The audience and actors, startled and stupefied with horror, were for a few seconds spell-bound. Some one then cried out, '*John Wilkes Booth!*' and the audience realized that the well-known actor had been the author of the deed. Booth had passed round to the front of the theatre, entered, passed to the President's box, gone in at the open and unguarded door, and, stealing noiselessly up behind the President, who was intent upon the play, had placed his pistol close to the back of the head of Mr. Lincoln, at the base of the brain, and fired. The ball penetrated the brain, the President fell forward unconscious and mortally wounded. No words can describe the horror and the anguish of Mrs. Lincoln. Her heart was broken, and her mind so shattered by the shock that she was never quite herself thereafter. When told that her husband must die, she prayed for death

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herself. The insensible body was moved across the street to the house of Mr. Peterson. Robert T. Lincoln, personal friends, and members of the Cabinet soon arrived and filled the rooms. The strong constitution of the President struggled with death until twenty-two minutes past seven of the next morning, when his heart ceased to beat. It would be idle to attempt to describe the agony of that fearful night. The many efforts of the son to control his own suffering, that he might soothe and comfort his mother, can never be forgotten. At the rising of the sun on the morning of the 15th the remains of the President were borne back to the White House. The assassin was pursued, overtaken, and on the 21st of April, refusing to surrender, he was shot by a soldier named Boston Corbett."

Probably in the history of no country had such dramatic events been crowded into so brief a space before. A whole nation had been shouting for joy over the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Lee only a few days before, and now in a moment that nation was struck dumb by grief and sorrow. The terrible intelligence spread through the Republic, causing everywhere a sense of loss that was as individual as it was national. On the Sunday following his death, the people gathered in every place throughout the land, and it was literally true on this occasion that a whole nation was in tears.

The Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, was sworn in as President, and Congress made arrangements for the obsequies of his great predecessor. On the

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19th a funeral service was held in the Executive Mansion, and on the 20th the President lay in state at the Capitol, the body being viewed by a great concourse of people. The next day the funeral train set out for Springfield, Illinois. The *cortège* halted at all the principal cities on the way, including Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Chicago. It was everywhere received with extraordinary demonstrations of respect and sorrow. At Baltimore it was especially impressive to see the negroes convulsed with grief, and to hear the sobs, cries, and tears, which told how deeply they mourned their deliverer. At New York every house, from pavement to roof, all the way from the battery to Central Park, was draped in black. The scene on the banks of the Hudson, as the train passed up the river towards Albany, was very grand and impressive. Chicago mourned to a man, for here Lincoln was personally known to everybody, having made his speeches in the Courts, and debated with his great rival, Douglas. It was also here that he had been nominated for President. On the 3rd of May the funeral train reached Springfield, and his remains were taken to the State House, which had often resounded with his rugged eloquence. After lying in state here for some hours, the body was taken to Oak Ridge Cemetery, where it was interred.

The death of Lincoln called forth expressions of sympathy with the American people from all parts of the world. From the Royal occupant of Windsor Castle to the humblest labourer in his cottage

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came those notes of sorrow which make the whole world kin. England, India, Australia, Canada, and the islands of the seas—wherever a member of the English-speaking race was to be found—all sent their messages of profound regret. All these utterances were communicated to the State Department, and Seward described them as “The Tribute of the Nations to Abraham Lincoln.” They were gathered together, and printed in a volume of nearly one thousand quarto pages, thus forming a tribute such as had never before been paid to any ruler.

An imposing national monument to the memory of the dead President—the work of the sculptor, Larkin G. Mead—was erected at Oak Ridge, near Springfield, on the 15th of October, 1874. The monument is of white marble, with a portrait-statue of Lincoln in bronze, and four bronze groups at the corners, representing the infantry, cavalry, and artillery arms of the Service and the Navy.

Lincoln would never have been the great man he was had he been born under circumstances of luxury. The hardships of his early life braced his nerves, gave him sympathy with his race, and fostered those elements of greatness which must otherwise have lain dormant. His nature was child-like in its simplicity ; but he had also a singular intensity and depth of feeling, and he stood hard and firm as a rock against error, injustice, and crime. His humour, his magnanimity, his goodness of heart, and his abounding charity, were proverbial. Yet he was a self-respecting ruler, and had a native dignity which

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checked familiar encroachments. A man of the people, he seemed to embody within himself all their best and most salient characteristics. For the greatness of the work he did, history will embalm his name as the man of the century in the New World.

THE END









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